A STUDY OF ASPECTS OF THE ROMANCES AMOROSOS OF LUIS DE GÓNGORA

by

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SUMMARY

This work examines the poetry in *romance* form of Luis de Góngora y Argote (1561 - 1627), with particular emphasis on that of an amatory nature. An investigation of the history and development of the Spanish *romancero* and a biographical study locate Góngora's *romances* within the context of his life, works and outside influences. Critical reactions towards the genre, from the seventeenth to the twentieth century, are examined. Apart from the historico-literary aspects, stylistic and thematic considerations are attended to by three methods: 1) a detailed exploration of two types of *romance amoroso*, the *morisco* and the *rústico*; 2) an examination of the representation of two major recurrent *personae*; 3) close analyses of two individual poems and a comparison of a further two. Several traditional interpretations are questioned and re-evaluated.

The thesis argues that the *romances* demand more careful consideration than they have previously received. Their several themes and literary qualities are fully comparable to those of Góngora's longer and better-known works. Furthermore, the *romance amoroso* serves as a vehicle for the expression of the poet's attitudes towards love in all its aspects.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to take this opportunity to thank all those who have helped me throughout the preparation of this thesis. I am especially grateful to my supervisor Mr Raymond Calcraft for his guidance and encouragement at all times. Thanks must also go to Professor Alan Paterson for his many helpful suggestions concerning methods of approach to my chosen subject. I am grateful for the sound advice and generous assistance of Professor John Preston and Dr Elizabeth Matthews, and the moral support of Mrs Janet Seaton and Mrs Maria Turner.

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To Gary

ABBREVIATIONS

BHS	Bulletin of Hispanic Studies
BRAC	Boletín de la Real Academia de Córdoba
BRAE	Boletín de la Real Academia Española
BSS	Bulletin of Spanish Studies
CSIC	Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas
F-D	Foulché-Delbosc, R.
FMLS	Forum for Modern Language Studies
HR	Hispanic Review
LLL	Les Langues neo-Latines
MLR	Modern Language Review
MP	Modern Philology
NRFH	Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica
RAE	Real Academia Española
RFE	Revista de Filología Española
RG	Romancero general
RHi	Revue Hispanique
RLit	Revista de Literatura
RR	Romanic Review
SSLGA	Studies in Spanish Literature of the Golden Age presented to E. M. Wilson, edited by R. O. Jones, (London, Tamesis, 1973).
UCPMP	University of California Publications in Modern Philology

CHAPTER I

FOREWORD

It can be demonstrated that an imbalance exists in the existing critical studies of the poetry of Luis de Góngora. Close investigation of the bibliographical situation reveals that substantial criticisms of what are known as Góngora's major works, the Soledades and the Fábula de Polifemo y Galatea, make up the bulk of work on his poetry. Second only to the longer poems in number are works which consider the Italianate sonnets, either as studies of individual poems or of the sonnets as a unified genre. In comparison with these, few studies are devoted to the shorter poems; the romances, letrillas, canciones and madrigales, and most cannot be classed as major studies but rather as commentaries on aspects of value or interest.

It would be unjust to suggest that the genre of the romance has been entirely neglected, but like the letrilla, it has received surprisingly little attention in comparison to that given to the works of Góngora as a whole. Few scholars, like Jammes, have gone as far as to devote a whole

section or chapter of their writings to the minor poems.[1]

It can be fairly asked why, when throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries virtually all the romanceros published seem to have become best-sellers, this immensely popular form of poetry should receive such scant critical attention from Góngora scholars in comparison with the sonnets, for instance. This is certainly not because they are few in number or lacking in interest or value. Luis de Góngora was the author of ninety-four romances; this is the number at least verified as authentic by research up to the present day. Some one hundred and thirteen more romances have also been attributed to the poet and can be found printed in the editions of Góngora's works published by Adolfo de Castro, Millé y Giménez, Foulché-Delbosc and Agustín Durán. Even if none of the latter group were finally to be proven to have been written by Góngora, the romances would still form a substantial corpus within his works. It would be fair to question, then, why there have been so few studies of Góngora's romances.

As the scope of Jammes's work attests the task of studying the genre in its entirety would be immense. Few critics have wished to challenge Jammes's view, and most recent studies, therefore, have been inclined to concentrate on individual poems, isolated themes or motifs and particular stylistic features of the romance gongorino. This approach to study of the romances, rather than a study of the genre per se, has a trivializing effect; they appear as a result of this to be considered by many as unworthy of serious critical analysis. As Dámaso Alonso above all has many times demonstrated for

other areas of Góngora's poetry, I should like to show in this thesis that the *romances* deserve equal esteem to that accorded the longer poems and the sonnets.

Regarding the sub-groupings of the *romances*, a second imbalance in existing studies is noticeable. Critics have largely been inclined towards the discussion of the satirical or burlesque *romance* rather than the more serious examples of the *romances sacros*, *líricos* or *amorosos*. This may well be as a result of the often controversial or autobiographical elements to be found in the former types, which provide immediate and fascinating points of departure for discussion. This means, however, that many of the *romances* which have received critical attention often may have done so for reasons other than appreciation of their intrinsic worth. The inconsistency of the depth and direction of the critical work so far undertaken is most striking. Certain *romances* have been only partially interpreted or examined, still others have been studied repeatedly although often because of the external controversies arising from the criticisms of a previous study.[2] It is probably true to say that a number of *romances* have at times emerged as 'fashionable', whilst the majority have never been subjected to this dubious honour, and as a result remain relatively unknown.

The indication is that a new approach towards the *romancero gongorino* is required, one which would neither exclude those compositions which had been previously ignored nor those upon which a considerable body of work already exists. The key to any study of the *romancero*, or any of its constituent parts (the *romance amoroso*, the *romance burlesco*, and so

on), per se must surely be a balance. Difficulties arise once an area for concentrated study is selected, as so many of these short compositions defy classification. The complexity and ambiguity of each romance is such that serious and comic elements frequently meet and are occasionally inseparable. Therefore, in spite of the current tendency for division of the poetry into burlesque/satirical and amorous/sacred/lyrical sectors, attempts at separation of these two styles should not be a priority. Again balance is the key. Biruté Ciplijauskaité discovered that to attempt re-classification into categories other than those already present in early published editions of Góngora's sonnets was not an answer to the editorial problems facing her.[3] Attempts to sift the romances into new categories is largely fruitless and unnecessary, for so many romances could be included under two or even three descriptive headings. An outstanding feature is, however, that of the ninety-four authenticated romances, approximately fifty per cent can be classed as romances amorosos when the dependant criteria for selection is that a romance amoroso treats the theme of love. This number is greater than those attested to by Vicuña and Hoces,[4] but agrees with Chacón whose category of romances amorosos is much broader than that of the two editions published earlier.[5]

When such a quantity of romances is conceived by an editor who worked in close collaboration with Góngora to be classifiable as romances amorosos, then the importance of the subgenre is surely obvious. On this basis, the serious study of the romance amoroso, to which this thesis contributes, has been long overdue.

* * * * *

The edition consulted for texts of the Góngora *romances* throughout this thesis has been that of Antonio Carreño (Madrid, Cátedra, 1982) and I reproduce his orthography and punctuation. Any deviations from this are listed in the notes. Citations from other works also employ the orthography of the edition listed in the notes.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1 Robert Jammes, Études sur l'oeuvre poétique de don Luis de Góngora y Argote (Bordeaux, Institut d'études ibériques...de l'université de Bordeaux, 1967), part III, chapter 5.

2 An examination of a handful of any anthologies of Spanish poetry reveal that the same few romances are repeated time and again.

3 Sonetos completos, edited by B. Ciplijauskaité (Madrid, Castalia, 1969, 3rd edition 1978), Nota previa, p.47-49.

4 Obras en verso del Homero español, Juan López de Vicuña, facsimile edition by Dámaso Alonso (Madrid, CSIC, 1963). Vicuña prints 14 romances under the heading of romances amorosos.

Todas las obras de don Luis de Góngora en varios poemas, compiled by Gonzalo de Hoces y Córdoba (Madrid, Emprenta del Reino, 1633) prints 13 romances amorosos.

5 The manuscript compiled by Antonio Ponce de León y Chacón and published by R. Foulché-Delbosc as Obras poéticas de don Luis de Góngora (New York, Hispanic Society of America, 1921, repr., 3 vols, Biblioteca hispánica, 1970) lists 45 romances amorosos.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ROMANCE

The Spanish romance is a unique phenomenon. In modern translation the word is equated with the ballad, and indeed forms part of a large body of oral song and story found universally. Yet the Spanish ballad is unlike that of any other European country, not least because it has a definite poetic form of its own. In all parts of Europe the ballad began as an oral form intended to be either sung or recited, usually before a specific audience. Spain and Portugal were no exception to this, and that the romance was often sung in the peninsula there can be no doubt. The Cancionero musical del Palacio, compiled in the early sixteenth century, records some forty romances as songs, all of which have a common time signature with four balanced phrases.[1] Jack Sage suggests that it may be related to plainsong and adds that: 'The complete melody is based upon four lines of eight-syllabled verse; this melody is repeated for each successive four lines without any explicit variation'.[2] This corresponds exactly to the metre and form of the romance, which consists of octosyllabic lines rhymed in assonance on the even lines, and repeated

without stanzaic division until the end of the poem. The 'Romance del Cid Ruy Díaz' will serve as an illustration of this form:

> Caualga Diego Laynez
> al buen rey besar la mano
> consigo se los lleuaua
> los trezientos hijos dalgo
> entre'ellos yua Rodrigo
> el soberuio Castellano
> todos caualgan a mula
> solo Rodrigo a cauallo.[3]

The assonance here is in a-o and falls at the end of every even line where, without the aid of punctuation, a natural pause is perceptible in both the content of the poem and in the linguistic rhythm. The romance therefore need not necessarily have been sung, as even simple recitation requires a sense of rhythm and flow if it is to be distinguishable from prose or normal, conversational modes of speech. If music did not enforce the metre of the romance then it is probable that the natural rhythms and intonations of the Castilian language did.

This unvarying metrical form, one which survives even today in the now rapidly-disappearing oral tradition, is the outstanding characteristic of the Spanish romance. The ballads of no other country in Europe are as consistent or as regular as this; we need only look at our own English and Scottish ballads in the collections of Bishop Percy or Child to see how they vary not only in syllabic count but also in stanzaic division and the use of refrains. Refrains are only a late addition to the romance form, added or incorporated by professional poets. Furthermore the Spanish romance is generally shorter than ballads found elsewhere, ranging from a mere sixteen octosyllabic lines to 1,366 lines in length, although even the latter is short in comparison with the oral epic-ballads of Yugoslav or Icelandic tradition.[4]

The conciseness of expression characteristic to the romance imposes an economy of language, the like of which cannot be traced in any other ballad tradition to the same extent. A great deal must be conveyed quickly and action is realized rapidly and dramatically. Detail is avoided, only the necessary situations and circumstances are outlined, and characters are often delineated by the slightest evocation of richness or poverty in their surroundings or in their clothing.

Since the unique character of the romance has been established, I shall look more closely at its stylistic and linguistic features.

The Spanish noun romance bears none of the 'Romantic' connotations in Spanish which it retains in English or French. The chivalric romances eventually became part of the Spanish Romancero tradition, but the word romance means to a Spaniard much the same as the word ballad does to an Englishman - a song, or oral poem, which is traditional and which appeals to all ages, or at least evokes a response from all types of men. It suggests a method of communication, the expression of the collective consciousness or communal experience of a people or race, although not necessarily that of a nation. It differs from the epic or the cantar de gesta in that it is not nationalistic. Even when national heroes are the protagonists of a romance, they remain human and fallible. The romance deals with human nature and human drama, not with heroism. It is poetry of a people and for a people.

Etymologically, the word itself is a clue to its own meaning. Corominas states in his Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana that it comes down from: 'Romanĭcē' - 'adverbio aplicado al habla de los romanos, y posteriormente al lenguaje hablado de las naciones romanizados'.[5] This definition also

conveys some sense of the age of the word. After the Roman invasion of Spain, the Latin spoken by those remaining pre-Roman inhabitants would be grammatically poor, and was known as 'romance' rather than Latin because it was a vulgar form. 'Romanice' or 'romance' came to bear the meaning 'in the vernacular tongue', as we are informed by Covarrubias (1610):[6]

> Este nombre es genérico a la lengua toscana, a la francesa y a la española, por quanto estas tres se derivaron de la pureza de la lengua latina, la que los romanos, como vencedores, introduxeron en estas provincias... Después el vulgo lo corrumpió todo, y quedamos con el lenguaje que oy se usa,...

One might expect, then, that any form of song or oral poetry bearing this name would be in the vernacular, unlike the ecclesiastical poetry and official documents of the Middle Ages which were written in Latin and which would continue to be so for several centuries. Poetry written later in this particular form and dialect would be likely to bear the same name, and the earliest known record of a lyrical romance is to be found in the notebook of a Majorcan student, Jaume de Olesa. The fragment found there is that beginning 'Gentil dona, gentil dona' which dates from around 1421. Obviously romance poetry existed before that date although it was of less lyrical or amorous nature, and more likely to be of the 'news-bearing' or noticiero type. It is thought that this type was composed throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and Tomás Navarro Tomás, placing it within the Juglaría section of his Métrica española, conjectures that troubadour influence may have been the reason for fifteenth-century romances having been composed in octosyllables.[7] Antonio de Nebrija, however, would seem to have thought otherwise.[8] In his Gramática de la lengua castellana, published in 1492, he says:

> El tetrámetro iambico, que llaman los latinos octonario, y nuestros poetas pie de romances, tiene regularmente diez y seis sílabas; y llamaron lo tetrámetro, por que tiene cuatro assientos; octonario por que tiene ocho pies; como en este romance antiguo:...

So far it has been established that the romance is a poetic form, originally oral in nature, composed in the vernacular tongue of the Spanish nation from the thirteenth century onwards and maybe even earlier. When professional poets and men of letters began to recognize it as a form, several theoretical arguments arose particularly regarding the metre. The most important national forms of oral poetry in the early Middle Ages had been the epic and the cantar de gesta (related to the chanson de gestes of French origin). These grandiose poems, recited to eager audiences, have generally not survived but have been carefully reconstructed from evidence found in the later chronicles of the medieval civil wars. They were much longer than any of the romances and, when regular, were composed in lines of fourteen or sixteen syllables with assonantal rhyme at the end of each line. Each line was divided into hemistichs by a caesura:[9]

De los sos oios	tan fuertemientre llorando
tornava la cabeca	e estavalos catando
vio puertas abiertas	e ucos sin canados
alcandaras vazias,	sin pielles e sin mantos
e sin falcones	e sin adtores mudados.

The assonance here is in a-o. These forms were not divided into strophes or stanzas using a regular scheme, but instead broke off at the end of a paragraph-like structure known as a laisse. Each laisse regularly used only one type of assonance throughout.

It is reasonably clear from this where Nebrija derived the formal structure of the romance which he uses as an example in the Gramática...:

Digas tú el ermitano, que hazes la santa vida
Aquel ciervo del pie blanco ¿Dónde haze su manida?

The lines have sixteen syllables but clearly divide into octosyllabic hemistichs and the assonance in i-a is at the end of each line. Not all of Nebrija's near contemporaries would have agreed with him, and many modern hispanists are adamantly in opposition to his definition of the form.

S. Griswold Morley took up the argument in 1916 in his article for the Romanic Review 'Are the Spanish Romances written in Quatrains?'.[10] He investigates the whole question of line-length and arrangement into stanzas or strophes, beginning with the arguments of Milá y Fontanals in 1874, through those of Foulché—Delbosc and Menéndez Pidal on opposing sides.[11] He outlines Pio Rajna's argument (1913-15) that the romances are entirely different from the epics although influenced by them, and that they are divided into stanzas either with four octosyllabic lines or two sixteen-syllabled lines.[12] Morley's point is that four short lines would suggest an artistic development within the genre and that the romances would be sung in those stanzas. Since those romances collected in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries show no strophic system he concludes that no gap can have existed between the romances viejos and the medieval epic form in which units of one long line (two octosyllables with a caesura) were grouped in laisses of a single assonance. He supports his own argument in favour of an

astrophic form with statements taken from Encina's Arte de trobar (1496), Nebrija's Gramática castellana (1492) and Argote de Molina's Romancero antiguo castellano (1575).[13] He lists the use of quatrains or stanzaic structures in all fifteenth and sixteenth-century collections of romances in order to show how, for instance in the Romancero general (1600), one is able to test for quatrains.[14] If lines are divisible by four, or pause with punctuation after every four lines, or bear only a minor pause on the second line of each group of four, then it is likely that the romance in question is deliberately strophic in form, as are those of the Romancero general. Other erudite romances, especially those composed after 1550, tend towards a four-line strophic configuration, or cuarteta de romance, and after 1589 and the publication of Pedro de Moncayo's Flor de varios romances nuevos y cantares, the use of the quatrain appears to have become the rule rather than the exception. Carreño gives a figure of eighty per cent by the time the Romancero general appeared.[15] This practice is continued into the comedia for narrative monologues, although not for the purposes of dialogue. This is strange when one considers that a high proportion of romances viejos incorporate long passages of uninterrupted dialogue. Morley outlines a clear distinction between those later deliberately strophic romances and the unintentional quatrains of octosyllabic lines occasionally found in the romance viejo.

I have spoken of Navarro Tomás's belief that the original romance form consisted of octosyllabic lines, and for many years this belief prevailed among Hispanic scholars, although an occasional return to the sixteen-syllable case keeps the debate open. However, this is not a new dispute; Juan del

Encina gives us his thoughts on and definitions of the *romance* in his *Arte de poesía castellana*:[16]

> si es de cuatro pies puede ser canción y ya se puede llamar copla, y aun los romances suelen yr de cuatro en cuatro pies, aunque no van en consonante sino el segundo y el cuarto pie y aun las del tiempo viejo no van por verdaderos consonantes...serán dos versos en una copla....

He differs from Nebrija in matters of metre but not of rhyme, which he says is assonantal. There is naturally some doubt about the nature of the rhyme. Navarro Tomás points out that during the second half of the fifteenth century assonance was often replaced by consonantal rhyme, whilst in the Renaissance this tendency was abandoned by the *romancero* poets for the older tradition of an assonantal rhyme-scheme. The confusion over these matters appears to have been fairly general and more recently scholars have found it difficult to decide what was common practice and what was not, in spite of the accessibility of accounts contemporary with the *romancero*. Much speculation has arisen over a single remark made by the Marqués de Santillana in his *Prohemio e carta al Condestable de Portugal*:[17]

> Infimos son aquellos que syn ningund orden, regla nin cuento fazen romances e cantares de que las gentes de baja e servil condición se alegran.

This would suggest some confusion and irregularity in the composition of *romances*, which many scholars (including H. R. Lang) interpret, through Santillana, as the result of its corruption by the lower classes or by inadequate troubadour poets. Dorothy Clarke is quick to point out that our knowledge of fifteenth-century critical terminology is not perfect, and that

the Marqués de Santillana may not have intended the words 'sin cuento' to stand for 'without syllabic count', but rather some expression nearer to 'in countless numbers'.[18] She also insists that these words are not conclusive proof of the theory of the metrical structure of the Spanish romance, because the word romance may not have reached that particular etymological stage by the time Santillana was writing. We have seen how the word romance emerged, and it is not until the sixteenth century that the word romancero comes into use as the definition of a collection of ballads (Corominas), and even then its usage may not have been limited to that of a specifically literary term.

Even when discussing metre in his Diálogo de la lengua, Juan de Valdés does not use the word romance in terms of a metrical form alone but also in the way of its original definition - 'in the vernacular tongue':[19]

> Y siendo assí que la gentileza del metro castellano consiste en que de tal manera sea metro que parezca prosa, y que lo que se scriva se diga como se diría en prosa, tengo per buenos muchos de los romances que stán en el Cancionero general; por que en ellos me contenta aquel su hilo de dezir que va continuado y llano, tanto que pienso que los llaman romances porque son muy castos en su romance.

Valdés directs our gaze towards two further aspects of the romance. Firstly, that aspect of continuation without division into strophes or stanzas, or by a refrain. Here it is made plain that 'aquel su hilo de dezir que va continuado' appeals to Valdés because its qualities relate it to a natural way of speaking. As if telling a story - 'Lo que se scriva se diga como se diría en prosa'. This link with the straightforward narration of folktales or other materials seems to be the reason for the survival of the romance's non-strophic structure.

Secondly, once it has been found to settle eventually into an established metrical form, octosyllabic and rhyming in assonance on even-numbered lines, then it is possible to take a closer look at the expressive form of the romance. The simplicity and straightforward plainness of the language of the romances viejos (those assumed to have descended by an oral method of transmission until their recording in the cancioneros and romanceros of the late fifteenth to early seventeenth centuries) are of prime importance in the study of the ballad.

I have already noted the economical use of language in the romance as compared with that of the ballads of other European countries. It is for the most part narrative in style and qualitative rather than quantitative, for it is rarely hampered by unnecessary descriptive passages. Adjectives and adverbs are noticeably lacking and even rare, introduced only for specific narrative purposes such as rapid character sketching. Nouns and verbs are the predominant elements of speech in the romance emphasizing 'what is happening to whom' whilst disregarding 'how'. By generalization or omission of background elements, the concentration falls on a specific moment in a tale, narrating it in terms of human motives in language accessible to all. The narrator or singer is anonymous and objective, relating his story withou adornment or bias. The motives and emotions of the characters are never analysed or even questioned and neither are morals drawn. The singer is objective - his function is to tell only the tale and to pass neither judgement nor comment. His own personality rarely invades, and only in a very few romances does the 'yo' or 'I' persona become involved. Yet the narrator can become dramatically involved in the action of his story by using direct speech

from the mouths of his protagonists. Dialogue is extremely common in the *romance* to the extent that some consist of little more than a scene-setting phrase at the beginning followed by a conversation, as in the *Romance de Abenamar*:[20]

> Por Guadalquivir arriba
> el buen rey don Juan camina
> encontrara con vn Moro
> que Abenamar se dezia
> El buen Rey desque lo vido
> desta suerte le dezia
> Abenamar Abenamar
> Moro de la Moreria
> hijo eres de vn Moro perro
> y de vna Christiana catiua.

No punctuation has been used in this *romance* to indicate who might be speaking. We cannot know whether the singer or teller of the *romance* would differentiate by tone of voice or pauses between each speaker, but it is often possible to judge the social status of different speakers in one *romance* by comparing the tonal quality of their language. Most often however the singer introduces each character with a short phrase such as 'Allí hablara Granada/al buen rey le respondía'. Totally narrative *romances* are in fact rare, although only a few are composed completely in dialogue:

> Moro Alcayde Moro alcayde
> el de la barva vellida
> el rey os manda prender
> porque Alhama es perdida
> si el rey me manda prender
> porque es Alhama perdida
> el rey lo puede hazer
> mas yo nada le devia (*Cancionero de romances* p.248).

No descriptive or introductory lines are used in this brief *romance*, and once again no differentiation is made between the speakers. It is written in a completely conversational

manner, in the way that a tape recorder might record the words, continuously and clearly, precisely because of its plain language.

This linguistic simplicity and economy is a further unique characteristic of the Hispanic ballad and yet Ruth House Webber points out in her study of formulistic diction in the romance that, lamentably, few studies have been conducted in this area.[21] Using 237 poems, a total of 22,212 octosyllabic lines, she sets out to show (without reducing language to statistics!) how mnemonic formulas are used profusely in popular poetry. The role of these formulas is often to introduce dialogue or action, some of which have already been seen briefly in earlier quotations:

> Cavalga Diego Laynez... (or other person)
>
> De los sus ojos...llorando...
>
> Por Guadalquivir arriba... (or other location)
> el buen rey don Juan (etc.) camina...
>
> El buen rey desque lo vido
> desta suerte le dezía...

Many formulas are simple short phrases - 'de esta manera', 'de esta suerte' - whereas others are paired for extra effect:

> Fablό Martín Antolínez, ordredes lo que a dicho.

They may introduce an action or supply a geographical location - 'ellos en aquesto estando'. They may be prescriptive forms of address or other repetitive or parallelistic devices - 'Calledes, hija, calledes', 'tiran unos, tiran otros', or they may express nothing more than time or place - 'La mañana de San Juan', 'A las orillas del mar'.[22] Many formulistic devices are found in

the surviving Spanish epics and in those of other European countries, and Webber says that they are 'characteristic of all popular poetry of any nationality' (p.209). Longer ballads contain a greater percentage of formulas, which belong specifically to either odd- or even-numbered lines but not to both. Formulas were almost undoubtedly instrumental in a process of both combining and selecting remembered terms and fitting them to the line length (if a fixed line length is presumed).

Webber's conclusions are that if a romance contains more than thirty-three per cent of traditional formulaic material it can definitely be classed as a romance viejo, whilst any one containing less than twenty-five per cent is of 'doubtful traditionality'. Whether or not we agree with this, she makes the particularly valid point that the sixteenth-century compilers of romanceros would be inclined to reproduce courtly rather than unsophisticated forms of a ballad, and that any formulistic trends would suffer in the hands of professional singers and editors, In this she opposes Menéndez Pidal, who claims that it is the lower classes of singer who are detrimental to the aesthetics of the romance. Nevertheless, Webber is not alone in her stance. G. N. Calhoun and others feel that these 'most perfect and beautiful' formulas add charm to the diction of any ballad tradition.[23] Webber insists that to be authentic their beauty must be accompanied by utility.

Joseph Szertics also studies one of the linguistic aspects of the romance, investigating the use of tenses and verbs.[24] This is perhaps not such a neglected area, as changes of verb tense had previously been looked at by Leo Spitzer, Karl Vossler (imperfect tense) and Becker and Wright (the -ra form) on single

tenses, and by Menéndez Pidal as a general rule (in the Cantar de Mio Cid). These were not comprehensive studies. Szertics examines the use of several tenses in the indicative mood - present, historic present and a descriptive present, several uses of the imperfect, several preterites, the pluperfect and the forms in -ra. He regards the indicative as both the most used and the most expressive mood, within which there exists an alternation of verb tenses along with other temporal peculiarities (for instance, an unreal imperfect, as a child might say - 'Yo era el rey, tú la reina' - when playing a game in the present moment). He approaches the stylistic aspects in the light of medieval epic practices and of the juglaresco art, whose purpose it was to move the audience or even to evoke their participation. He concludes that this mixing of tenses could be a most powerful expressive medium: 'Este tiempo es más bien subjetivo que objetivo y su realidad no sería concebible sin la memoria que, distinguiendo el pasado y el presente, sirve de lazo entre ambos'. Like Rafael Lapesa he concludes that the mixing of tenses is purely anarchic. Some alternation of one specific tense with another does occur but for the most part they switch between viewpoints, and not without good reason. Tense changes call attention to certain characters, actions or aspects of the romance. They can accelerate the rhythm of the line, enrich the style, intensify and accentuate, and are particularly interesting when they occur within a dialogue. Szertics's method is chiefly to enumerate the more grammatically unusual uses of tense or tense combination, many of which, nevertheless, have continued on into modern poetry.

Other studies of the romance deal with aspects of its style and origins. Dorothy Clarke looks at forty-six early romances

in relation to *cantares* in terms of consonance and assonance (including *agudo* or masculine endings which would be sung or recited with the addition of a paragogic 'e' to make up the final syllable of the line).[25] She claims that the *romance* shows Galician-Portuguese traits and that it was probably rhymed consonantally rather than in assonance until the beginning of the sixteenth century. She attributes the introduction of assonance to poetic licence, the difficulty of finding enough consonantal rhymes, and the monotony of identical rhyme, and then adds that if consonance preceded assonance 'the fact would indicate that the *romance* was, in its beginnings, a form more learned than popular' (p.99). To verify her statement she cites Merimée: 'The great majority, even of the *viejos*, were composed artificially and deliberately, from the fifteenth century on...', which proves little to do with the early *romances*.[26] The next section of Clarke's study is devoted to the use of hiatus and synaloepha as a means of dating the *romances* approximately. Having said that the rules of hiatus and synaloepha depend upon the regularity of the line length, she goes on to give a full account of them within irregular lines. On consideration of the Marqués de Santillana's famous remark on the *romance* she decides that 'with all the key words of Santillana's short definition being of uncertain meaning, nothing at all can be proved from the statement' (p.120) and ends with her conviction that the *romances* originated as octosyllabic compositions and not as two halves of the *cantar de gesta* line.

Unfortunately, many of the studies on the *romance* fall into the same traps of assumption, presumption and petty bickering. Alternatively they may be based on totally unfounded evidence.

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The romances are not confined to any one subject. Many themes and types of subject matter are treated in the tradition and accordingly these have been categorized to a greater or lesser extent by each compiler of an anthology or collection. Agustín Durán draws fine distinctions between the types in his Romancero.[27] Others are either less ambitious or broader in their categorizations. W. J. Entwistle identifies four major divisions which are Historical, including noticieros, fronterizos and epic romances, Classical romances using Latin and mythological material, Religious romances for entertainment, edification and moral education, and Literary romances which could be either oral or written. The literary romances often dealt with novelesque forms using Arthurian or Carolingian subject matter, semi-Carolingian and international ballad themes, love and adventure stories, a tragedy or just an interesting event. The Morisco ballads would also be included in this section (as would all romances nuevos or artísticos). S. G. Morley divides the romances into only three categories; National historical, French romantic epics and certain Universal folkloric themes.[28] The four categories used by D. W. Foster are Historical, Frontier, Novelesque and Carolingian.[29] Others re-introduce the religious category or give the Moorish ballads a section of their own, but by and large there is no definite system of categorization, and it is unlikely that a satisfactory one could be found for all purposes due to the extent of overlap in ballad themes.

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Although both themes and subject matter are numerous, there is at least in the romance viejo some pattern and limitation. Beginning with all those romances which could be classed as

historical we find that they have several points in common with one another. Much of the subject matter is derived directly from the epics and cantares de gesta, and is concerned for the most part with war and warlike or political events, being almost totally narrative in style. Any lyrical element is slight because the poems are dealing with the events of kingdoms or nations. One noticeable and often tedious feature for the modern reader is that they regularly rely on the reader's familiarity with the course of events in the epic cycle in question, thereby beginning and ending abruptly with little or no elaboration of scene or circumstances. Morley divides the historical romances into a further five sections based on subject matter.

The romances of King Rodrigo tell of a real king who was said to be responsible for the loss of Spain to the Moors between A.D.711 and 712. In spite of the early date of the subject matter they are often thought to be the latest of the historical romances, having emerged after the chronicles. They are not fragments and there is a unity even within the cycle of romances, which gives an almost 'novelistic' progression (Foster) from one to another. It is possible that they were taken from Pedro de Corral's Crónica Sarracina (c.1430) which follows the events of the Moorish conquest, but by the time they appear in the late fifteenth-century romances the facts from the chronicle have already been modified. Unlike many of the purely factual-account romances, the later Rodrigo romances have a very human appeal. They deal with the actions of one man whose sins are responsible for God's retribution in the loss of Spain to the Moors. Some have seen Christian symbolism in this, but as a whole the cycle gives personal, human dimensions

to the facts behind the Moorish conquest, as Foster says: 'to explain, as it were, in human terms what might have been a disaster comprehensible at that time only as a divine judgement' (Early Spanish Ballad, p.58). The style of the Rodrigo romances is closely allied to that of the romances viejos. Description is limited. Verb tenses are far from stable and the story is carried along by dialogue and a small amount of physical description just to suggest characterization or meaning. The outcome of the event is generally implied rather than explicit, verging on the theme of the fall of the mighty because of their sin. This is a fundamental tragic theme of the Spanish romance which often shows the 'contrast of health and prosperity with misery and death, in close proximity one to another'.[30] It is interesting to note that Wilson believes that the ballad themes deal with mutability particularly with heroic figures, either in isolation or set in contrast with ordinary people, a medieval feudal aspect which also emerges in the Lara ballads.[31]

Strong links with the Carolingian ballad cycles persist in romances which tell of both legendary figures, such as Bernardo del Carpio, and real national heroes like Fernán González (d. 970).

The romances of the seven nobles of Lara are based on the facts of peninsular civil wars fought during the fourteenth century and provide a reasonable illustration of medieval feudal values. They are thought to have been composed around the events of a lost epic or cantar de gesta which deals with a blood feud among Christians, and its revenging by a Moorish half-brother of the nobles, Mudarra. The differences between the Moor and the Christian here take on a distinct tone.

Foster says that 'an appropriate working out of feudal virtues was held in higher esteem than religious and political conflicts' (Early Spanish Ballad, p.60), and Emmons shows that none of the historical ballads of this kind are actually anti-Moorish in attitude.[32] The approach of the Spanish romance poet was in fact quite a sentimental one, and ballads like 'De Antequera partió el Moro' show a great Christian esteem for the 'culturally superior' Moor (Cancionero de romances 1550, p.244). In the 'Siete infantes' cycle, while the Christians are barbarous to one another, the Moor is actually idealized and appears to be so in all those romances derived from cantares de gesta.

The romances of El Cid, Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar (d. 1099), form the largest group of all, and deals to some extent with the unity of the peninsula. The Cid cycle covers two areas; that of the Cid's heroic exploits in the period leading up to 1099, which also appear in the Poema de Mío Cid supposedly composed around 1140, and that of Rodrigo's youth. The latter is much romanticized and was probably a late idea, surfacing around the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The themes involve a great deal of psychological matter concerning the rebellious character of the young Cid and his arrival at the correct decisions in life. There are so many interrelations and parallelisms that they are often considered purely as written texts rather than orally-composed romances, although of course one may have followed on from the other.

Other minor themes included by Morley in this section are the deeds of Pedro el Cruel (d. 1369), the capture of Granada in 1492, and the fronterizo ballads which deal with the localized events of the Reconquista. Entwistle also includes fronterizo and noticiero romances in his historical category. The

noticieros or news-bearing ballads were often brief local accounts of recent events, inevitably composed within living memory of each event. Fronterizos deal mostly with the events of the Reconquest, and Foster gives them an altogether separate category. His view is that they are all minstrel romances, not fragments or parts of a cycle, but artistically composed and later taken over by the people. One reason for this view is the use of epiphonema as in the romance 'Ay de mi Alhama', and of refrains. Another is their thematic unity and use of poetic licence, suggesting thet they are late compositions. To some extent Morley does not agree, dating the earliest of these ballads in 1368. However, this particular romance was not in print until two hundred years later, and although about eighty ballads deal with events which took place before the year 1300, there is some doubt, says Morley, as to whether we can date them before the fifteenth century. Glenroy Emmons sees the fronterizos as later compositions than the historical ballads, although earlier than the romances moriscos novelescos. They are, he says, essentially Andalusian in character and either provide an account of local contemporaneous events or identify with the Moorish attitude. Their use of ornamental features and the introduction of love as a theme mark them off as a transitional stage between the historical and the novelesque ballads. Whilst Emmons maintains that, in spite of increased verbal abuse, the respectful attitude of the poet towards the Moor persists, Angus MacKay rejects this with the claim that this respect is only shown when the Moor is defeated.[33]

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Entwistle's second ballad category is that of Classical ballads. Few others acknowledge this in their own systems of romance classification because generally romances of this kind are of a juglaresque rather than a traditional oral-compositional nature. Nevertheless they were popular by the time the first romanceros were published, and were elaborated by the new romancistas, Góngora among them.

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Entwistle also distinguishes the religious romances as a separate section. We think of the romance largely as an amoralistic, non-ecclesiastical phenomenon, yet, as with all other forms of poetry, there were contrahechos a lo divino made by those who found the secular nature of the romance distasteful. Very few studies have been attempted on the romance religioso, probably because 'son seguramente más modernos que los demás, y suelen ser transformaciones de viejos romances novelescos' at a time when most researchers are on the look-out for old but original romances.[34] J. M. Cossío points out that they occur more frequently in romanceros than is generally admitted and rather than parody a romance totally they often work around a few significant and often well-known lines. Most of the later ones focus on the Virgin Mary, yet the influences on these from within the romances viejos are unmistakeable, particularly in formulaic imitation.

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The poems which are found in Entwistle's fourth category of literary ballads need not originally have been written down. They include oral poetry of a cultured nature such as the literary epic poem. Here we also find novelesque and pastoral romances, debates, and unlikely stories. The category would

almost certainly include the Carolingian and later Morisco poems and any other international or universal themes. These might be called adventure ballads, even though some deal with static situations or simple love stories. The category can be viewed as a combination of Morley's French romantic epics and universal divisions, or of Foster's Novelesque and Carolingian, so it is perhaps best to make the same distinction as the two latter critics in order to discuss these romances with greater ease. The Carolingian romances, those dealing with the 'matter of France' and associated material, are, for the most part, a literary phenomenon. They provide a strong link between traditional and courtly literature and are derived not so much from the epics of Charlemagne but more frequently from the Chanson de Roland and the exploits at Roncesvalles. Some of the most well-known romances of modern times arise from this area of literature, for example, 'Gerineldos', 'Oh Belerma' and the 'Romance de Doña Alda' (Cancionero de romances 1550, p.303). Many employ superficial themes and their style is highly artistic, deliberately attempting to convey a foreign flavour in the use of tense (auxiliary fué + infinitive instead of preterite is common) and occasional words (lexar for dejar, sacramento for juramento). Customs and ways of dressing reinforce this picture. These French influences are thought to have begun to emerge in Spain from the twelfth century onwards, but they are so mingled with Arabic and Hispanic currents that they are difficult to trace precisely.

The novelesque ballads and those of a universal theme have been a source of much debate. Because of their precise, economical style they are thought by many to be of late composition. Another theory runs that they are in fact the oldest

of all romances being of folkloric and mythic origin, yet much refined and reworked through the centuries. There is at present no way of resolving the conflict. Many are lyrical or fantastic (probably late in these cases) describing wondrous events ('Conde Arnaldos', 'Fontefrida' in Cancionero de romances 1550, pp.255 and 285) or telling a narrative fable. Many of them are highly stylized or may contain literary formulas or courtly references. Others are amorous poems, for the most part dealing with extreme fidelity ('Conde Olinos') or infidelity ('Blancaniña', Cancionero de romances 1550, p.317), although without moralizing. These themes form a large part of the European ballad tradition but here are often hispanicized, for example in the romances moriscos novelescos. Historical factors are often ornamentalized and additions to them are fanciful, making them appear to be late additions to the romance genre. The themes and subjects of the romances cover such a broad range that as yet no attempt has been made to study them all in conjunction with one another. Several studies on single themes have appeared, perhaps the most notable being Wilson's Tragic Themes in Spanish Ballads. The urge to categorize and classify the romances would appear to be strong in even the editors of the earliest collections.

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Very few studies make any real contribution to the study of language and style, although history and transmission is fully documented. A fairly successful over-view of the use of hunt symbolism by Edith Randam Rogers is something of a step in an alternative direction.[35] She argues that one should not need to actually decode the imagery of the popular ballad in order to understand it, and that anyone who is not totally

estranged from the roots of popular culture should receive the 'messages' of the romances without being conscious of the mechanics behind them. The question to be asked is not, then, 'what does it say?', but rather 'how did I know?'. By studying six related motifs - the hunt, games, clothing, combing, magic music and transformations - both in the romances and in the ballads of other European countries, she shows both their usefulness as traditional symbols and the uniqueness of the Spanish ballad. Her study also shows that the imagery is as much responsible for the survival of a particular romance as any other factor might be:

> Whether a popular ballad lives or dies depends not so much on the quality of its ancestors as on its ability to evoke new associations that touch the values and concerns of successive generations... [Popular tradition] sustains only what is alive... (p.148).

Which leads to further questions. What were the origins of the popular romance? Who was responsible for its composition, and how did it manage to survive from the earliest times to the seventeenth century and the age of Góngora?

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Since the resurgence of interest in the romance initiated by the Romantic poets and scholars of the nineteenth century, several theories have enjoyed popularity. These theories for the most part cover the supposed origins of the romance tradition, the question of composition and the method of transmission. Here I intend to outline and compare some of these theories without proposing one of my own. It is not necessary to do so as my purpose in this chapter is simply to place the romance within its literary and historical context. I will

examine the three types of theory in turn, beginning with those concerned with the origins of the *romance*.

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Between the 1830s and 1850s many respected scholars in several European countries began to look at the *romance* anew. Until that time, since its virtual disappearance from the literature (although not from the oral tradition) of the Spanish people, the *romance* had been scorned. It was left to French and German scholars to revive interest in this modest poetic form. In Germany it was becoming fashionable to study *Volkspoesie* or *Naturalpoesie*, that is to say poetry dictated by the inner voice of a nation, by the people themselves. Out of this grew the Romantic theory of the collective composition of ballad poetry. The ballads of any nation were deemed not to have been composed by a single author but by some kind of communal effort. This was opposed by several Frenchmen who claimed that the Spanish *romances* were composed by individuals using material taken from their own (the French) epics and *chansons de gestes*. The belief that these short ballads were the oldest form of poetry, and a form out of which the longer epic poems had evolved or were compiled, was held by such distinguished men as Agustín Durán. Wolf and Hofmann also put together their anthologies (1849-51) on the basis that these short narrative poems were the sources of the epic.[36] The 'evidence' for this was said to lie in the *romances* of the Cid. Considered logically, however, the older an oral poem might be, the greater the chances it should be lost, and the fact that more Cid *romances* than Cid epics still remain would suggest contrary conclusions to those accepted by the Romantic theory. It was in 1874 that Manuel Milá y Fontanals hoped to prove that

the romances emerged later than the epics.[37] By showing that the earliest chronicles (c.1289) used material from the epics and cantares de gesta, and then that the romances used material from the chronicles written no earlier than 1344, he successfully discredited the earlier theories. He formed from this a neo-Traditionalist theory or Theory of Fragmentation, in which he maintained that the romances were created from portions of epics and cantares.

Ramón Menéndez Pidal, to whom we owe much of our fundamental knowledge of the history, transmission and survival of the modern oral romance tradition, agreed in general with Milá y Fontanals, although not in detail. So many great deeds and characters from the chronicles are totally absent from the romance tradition that , he said, 'el romance no puede derivar de las crónicas, si no de las cantares' ('Poesía popular y romancero' I p.304). Whilst chronicles treat of real people and events, the romances look at popular heroes from varying viewpoints - 'En suma, la influencia de las crónicas en las romances populares es mucho menor de lo que se cree, y en general escasísima' ('Poesía popular y romancero' III p.239). He shows how the romance form is similar to that of the cantar de gesta and the style develops from a narrative type to a later epico-lyrical style. Pio Rajna found the Theory of Fragmentation unacceptable because the process does not take place in the ballads of any other country, and in answer to this Menéndez Pidal says:

> la correspondencia entre los romances viejos y los productos épicos tardíos, con los cuales se relacionan, es menor que la podíamos esperar si aquellos derivasen de éstos por fraccionamiento o escisión... supongo una evolución gradual, lenta y compleja. (El romancero p.247-8)

Between the oldest conserved poem and the oldest romance of all there would almost certainly have been an intermediate poem. He suggests two periods of composition; one an 'aedic' period, in early existence, when active creation took place; and the other a 'rhapsodic' period, from the sixteenth century onwards, in which repetition of the romance was merely mechanical. Menéndez Pidal's Fragmentation theory met with opposition from many, including Foulché-Delbosc, and yet its implications spurred others on. By reversing the process of the theory, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo was able to reconstruct from clues in the romances the lost epic of the 'Siete infantes de Lara'.

The arguments continued into the twentieth century. W. C. Atkinson (1937) agreed that the birth of the romance certainly precedes the death of the epic but that its greater command of form secures it as the later of the two.[38] In European Balladry (1939) Entwistle was not sure that the romances were proven to be later than the epic because the epic does survive into the mid-fourteenth century. He suggests not only oral sources, in chronicles and epics, but other more literary antecedents including the Galician-Portuguese cantares, the French Carolingian cycles, and the Mozarabic jarchas. He dates the fronterizos (dealing with the Trastamaran civil wars) as early as 1407 and the 'adventure ballads' at 1421 (Jaume de Olesa's love ballad 'Gentil dona'). Over the last twenty years the debate has continued. Paul Bénichou claims that the romances have no real source as such and could have derived their material from both previous oral and literary creations.[39] D. W. Foster says their origins are neither of a folk nor of a courtly nature. The idea of Volkspoesie has rapidly declined since the nineteenth century. Thinking of a ballad as a

'folksong' is nowadays misleading because of its modern connotations. The romance as an oral poem does not resemble in any way the recent 'pop' tradition of reviving old songs and ballads in order to sing them time and again, word for word, in pubs, clubs and on record. In the 1950s and 1960s Lord and Parry were already concerned about the detrimental associations which accompanied the term 'folksong'. Used in its modern sense all traces of its original meaning are lost. Folk themes are not the sources of the romance in particular, and epics also (says A. D. Deyermond) provide the verse-form, some subjects and the content for only a few romances.[40] Others would be happier with the theory that the romance evolved totally independently of the epics and in a very distinct verse-form.

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The romance is believed by some, therefore, to be an original verse-form yet its composition is still cloaked in mystery. The questions most frequently asked are, 'What is the original form of any one particular romance?' and 'Is that romance the work of one poet or of many?'. As we have seen, the Romantics suggested communal authorship but this was quickly proven to be untenable by Milá y Fontanals, Menéndez Pidal and others. The neo-Traditionalists agreed that the product was collective, although certainly not anonymous or communal in the Romantic sense. The poem would have had a single author or first singer, who for the most part remains unknown, but not anonymous for, as Menéndez Pidal puts it, 'su nombre sería legión'. The poet's song or narrative would be taken up in turn by others who had heard it and it would be repeated time and again. The poet created his narrative

either from totally original material or from the remembered fragments of epics and cantares de gesta which could be joined and juxtaposed mechanically (Milá y Fontanals) or artistically (Menéndez Pidal). The romance had but one author and was created in a specific moment, but Menéndez Pidal and Milá y Fontanals did not think it was possible to discover this moment. Conversely the Romantics held that the romance was contemporaneous with the event it described, or at least not much younger. Menéndez y Pidal showed that this could not be so because many were created from fragments of the chronicles compiled long after events had taken place. The romancistas were inclined to make too many historical mistakes. The majority of critics and studies of the romance up to the present day generally come to the same conclusion. Whether it be a roving merchant, a blind beggar or a skilled court minstrel, each romance originated as the creation of one person, but its actual creation is continuous. Paring down from longer forms to shorter ones, the addition of new or elimination of irrelevant detail, selection, modification and sheer bad memory all lead to a collective body of oral poetry.

Theories of formulistic diction claim that mnemonic devices were necessary to aid later singers, whilst others believe that a 'libertad creadora' deliberately and intelligently re-ordered these mnemonic 'recuerdos' and 'tanteos asociativos'.[41] Mnemonic formulas and story patterns survive, as does a whole store of traditional lines for a singer or poet to draw on, and their very existence indicates a stability in the texts of romances which would otherwise be unrecognizable after several decades of haphazard memorization and repetition, let alone several centuries. At present we can

still find close links between the romances in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century collections and those in the oral traditions of Spain, South America and of the Sephardic Jews. These links consist of more than the occasional name or phrase, often running into complete repeated lines, suggesting careful memorization and compositional techniques.[42] Yet in spite of their similarities, the collected texts are clearly different. One wonders how many changes must have taken place between each version of a romance still known, how many others existed before the earliest known version, and even, whether it is possible for a romance to remake itself.

If changes within the transmission of the romance are so frequent then we cannot possibly hope to find an original romance viejo (romances artísticos are of course an exception to this). A. B. Lord says:

> I believe that once we know the facts of oral composition we must cease trying to find an original of any traditional song. From one point of view it is impossible to retrace the work of generations of singers to that moment when some singer first sang a particular song. (p.100)

Bearing in mind the distinction between the romance viejo and the conscious minstrelsy of the romance artístico, then paradoxically there is no original romance, and yet all are original precisely because of continuous composition during each oral performance. The creation lies in the transmission itself. As Ramón Menéndez Pidal would have it, the romance is 'poesía que vive en variantes y refundiciones'.

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The 'whys' and 'wherefores' of the variants and reworkings of the romance have prompted several methods of studying its

transmission and development. We have already seen how the Fragmentation theory of Milá y Fontanals and Menéndez Pidal operates. After the first performance of the poem each detail is revised by other poets or singers at later dates and in other locations. The result is a new version - 'llamaré versión a la redacción completa o fragmentario de un romance tomada en conjunto y en cuanto difiere de las demás redacciones totales del mismo' - or a new variant - 'a cada uno de los pormenores de que se compone una versión, en cuanto ese pormenor difiere de los análogos contenidos en las demás versiones' (Menéndez Pidal). Both of these may become either popular or traditional. Popular versions appeal to everyone and are often repeated, but 'popular' is not necessarily 'traditional'. Erudite poems may become popular; so may plays and other literary forms. However, traditional poetry - 'la elaboración de la poesía por medio de las variantes' (El romancero p.40) - has deeper roots in the memory of the people. They make it their own, not by passive repetition, but by an active participation and reworking. The people intervene in their own poetry to create new variants. By this count it is at the same time popular. Because of the universal nature of composition and inspiration, and the vocal method of transmission, Entwistle says that this kind of poetry will survive as long as the society in, and for which it is performed also survives. This of course has serious implications for the continuation of oral poetry for modern society; with its insistence on accurately-recorded material, both literary and oral, it could be construed as a totally new society, rather than a continuation of the old. This could put the survival of all traditional orally-transmitted poetry in jeopardy.

Menéndez Pidal's essay on folkloric geography shows how the romance travels within a given area, here in a country or a peninsula, undergoing constant variation upon its journey.[43] By collecting modern oral versions he found that poems were not isolated but had versions and variants throughout the whole of the Iberian peninsula. Variation was found to travel in 'isothermic' waves with a major division into North West and South East regions, and with variants penetrating only from South East to North West. There were, he concluded, two ways of transplanting variants. One was by the migration of an individual or group to a different region. This would bring about the introduction of versions of a romance 'en bloc'. The other was by continuous everyday contact between neighbouring towns and villages and by the passage of travellers. This introduced small, incidental changes in detail and eventually brought about the formation of new variants.

This geographical method of study was repeated thirty years later by Diego Catalán and Alvaro Galmés.[44] In Como vive un romance they reinforce all of Ménendez Pidal's conclusions, but in doing so they provoke an attack from Daniel Devoto who calls the historico-geographical method 'vulnerable' because it produces poor results. In the hundreds of romance variants he studies Menéndez Pidal finds that no two are alike, to which Devoto says:[45]

> ¿No está aquí ya en germen la negación de las posibilidades del método geográfico? Pero hay más;...que los textos cambian si son cantados o si son recitados... ¿Qué significa esto? ¿Que las especies de isotermas del método geográfico acaban de variar bruscamente bajo los pies del cantor popular? No: significa que el acento de la investigación debe ponerse ante todo en el hecho folklórico individual y que la conducta de

> ese sujeto, del sujeto sin más, capaz de variar el romance cada vez que lo hace vivir (porque el romance sólo vive por él y sus semejantes), es lo que corresponde estudiar bien de cerca, ya que opera, en él y por él, el mecanismo que rige toda manifestación folklórica.

One is aware from this that Devoto feels strongly that his own folkloric method of study is more satisfactory than that of Menéndez Pidal et al. He studies all romances and variants together with no prior preferences for any one version. After recognizing a general identity of content, he accepts that the latent content rules the cohesion of the motifs, the permanence of the romance, changes, and contamination that take place between one romance and another. He sees the content as the constant element of transmission, which is by any standards not a rational process. Variants may modify the content with greater or lesser fidelity and Devoto asks if there is any reason '¿por qué una poesía que vive en constante recreación no podría recrearse a sí misma?'.

In spite of disagreement and preference for one or other of these historic, folkloric or geographic methods of transmission, several things remain undisputed. The early romance in its oral form, whether sung, chanted or recited, was transmitted by people employing memory and mnemonic device, variation, fragmentation, combination or re-invention. Transmitted in these ways it existed as a type of 'poesía actual' (Bénichou), with composition taking place during the performance of generations of singer-poets in a continuously creative process (similar to Octavio Paz's 'ritmo perpetuamente creador').[46] This process may still be underway today in modern oral traditions, but that is not our concern. For us it is sufficient

that the romance reached the printing presses during the late Middle Ages. The spread of printing brought with it new forms of transmission, and also of development. A few romances are incorporated into the early cancioneros. Then they are published as pliegos sueltos or broadsides, a practice which continued for well over two hundred years. Finally they are collected for publication in the romanceros of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Once the romance has been written down it becomes a literary form rather than an oral one. Poets naturally become more aware of its structure and form and even begin to consciously create new romances, artísticos or nuevos. Although popular these poems are not initially traditional, once adopted by the people as their own they would soon be regarded as traditional. A new kind of development takes place in conjunction with this new method of transmission, yet the motifs and stylistic traits, and even the themes and subject matter of the romances, remained virtually unchanged for many decades.

* * * * *

The earliest-known Spanish romance is that of the 'Siege of Baeza', a fronterizo thought to have been in existence before 1407 (when it is first mentioned in another work) or by some even as early as 1357. Diego Catalán's study of Siete siglos de romancero gives an example of a ballad, 'El buen prior Hernán Rodríguez', which records events of 1328 according to Alfonso XI's historians.[47] This was a noticiero ballad bearing news of political events, yet once the interest in these events diminished the romance was not forgotten as one might expect it to be. Instead it was passed on into the mid-sixteenth century by word of mouth in the popular tradition.

Catalán makes the thought-provoking point that this event would only be known to knowledgeable historians of the time, but instead, because of its transmission in the romance, it was common knowledge. It is not known how popular the romance was in its early stages although guesses can be made from the remarks passed on it by the literary men of the fifteenth century, as we have already seen from Valdés, Nebrija and the Marqués de Santillana. By the mid-sixteenth century its popularity is clearly widespread, not just among the lower classes whose poetic activities must have taken place orally, but also among the literate and presumably more wealthy classes. When the Cancionero de romances sin año was published by Martín Nucio (between 1545 and 1550) it was an immediate success. We cannot know whether it was the publication of this and of other simultaneous romanceros which first prompted the popularity of the genre among the higher ranks of society, or whether the demand initiated the movement. If there was such a demand it may have been created by the previous publication of the romance genre in the cancioneros of the early sixteenth century, for example the Cancionero general, Hernando del Castillo (Madrid 1511, Valencia 1514, Toledo 1517, etc) or the Cancioneiro geral de Garcia de Resende (Lisbon 1516). Nájera's Silva de varios romances (Saragossa) appeared in 1550, with a second part in 1552. Sepúlveda's Cancioneros appeared in 1570 (Medina) and 1584 (Seville), and Juan de Timoneda's Rosa de amores in 1573 (Valencia).[48]

Silvas and flores appeared in dozens but all were superseded in popularity by the Romancero general of 1600 (Sánchez, Madrid) which contained a grand total of 803 compositions. This was reprinted only four years later and a second part

appeared in 1605 (Sánchez, Valladolid).[49]

Not long after the first few general publications appeared, collections containing romances of a particular type or on one theme came into vogue. Sacred matters were extremely popular, as shown in the following texts:

Cancionero de Nuestra Señora Barcelona 1591 (and before)
Romancero espiritual, José de Valdivielso, Toledo 1612
Saragossa and Valencia 1613
Toledo 1614, 1618, 1622 etc.
Cancionero de Nuestra Señora, Rodrigo de Reynosa, Seville 1612
and Romancero espiritual para recrearse el alma con Dios, Lope de Vega, Pamplona 1619.

By far the most popular cycle of ballads was that of the Cid. The 'Historia del muy noble y valeroso caballero El Cid' edited by Juan de Escobar first appeared in Lisbon in 1605 and the popularity of this single collection continued well into the mid-eighteenth century, considerably longer than most other types of romancero.[50] Second only to this were the profusion of 'flores', 'rosas', 'reglas' and 'espejos' of 'enamorados' or 'amores' in which all the collected romances were of an amorous or lyrical nature. They incorporated all the new-style ballads of Moors and shepherds.

The popularity of the romancero began to wane only towards the end of the seventeenth century, when the romance began to acquire a reputation as poetry of bad taste, corrupted by the lower classes. 'As they lose the better sort of patronage, ballads fall off in art and vigour; they are driven from the centres of mental life into outlying provinces; their topics lose elevation' (Entwistle p.31). This cannot be the sole

answer, for some of the most pure and noble romances still exist today in the modern oral tradition. Nevertheless, the demise of the romance continued and by the late eighteenth century it was abandoned as no longer being a respectable poetic form. It may be that this accounts for the lack of attention shown towards Góngora's romances even today.

The publication of romances in large luxurious volumes is proof of a cultured and wealthy audience, yet traditional ballad origins would seem to suggest otherwise. Only in Spain were the two factors synonymous. Oral versions of romances flourished alongside textual versions, and the two types came together in the pliegos sueltos. These broadside ballad sheets were aimed at a less wealthy audience, at students, merchants and other literate members of the public, and sold cheaply as they were unbound publications of between four and thirty-two sheets. There is a theory that often romances were truncated deliberately by the publisher in order to fit them into a requisite number of sheets, and that this accounts for at least some of the more abrupt endings and omissions. Pliegos sueltos circulated from the earliest times of printing, bearing proclamations and street journalism of local events. It is easy to imagine that the romances noticieros would gain popularity in this manner. The Biblioteca Colombina in Seville holds some pliegos sueltos from the early 1490s but because they were 'penny publications' of little literary consequence, rather like the average modern comic book, few were preserved within Spain itself. The greatest collections of pliegos sueltos are now found outside of Spain, in the British Museum, in Prague and in other libraries and private collections around the world. These were collected as souvenirs by travellers,

pilgrims and visitors to Spain and it is fortunate for us that so many still survive in spite of their impermanent and inaccessible nature.

As we have noted, the Antwerp Cancionero de romances sin año initiated the tremendous leap in popularity of published collections, gathering together romances from earlier cancioneros, from early pliegos sueltos and from dictation by those who knew only oral versions. Romances were not, however, confined to these collections. From the 1590s histories by Bernadino de Mendoza and Rodrigo de Carvajal contained romances. In 1595 Pérez de Hita includes many in his novelistic history of the Guerras civiles de Granada, and in the seventeenth century the romances and the material of which they are composed appear as the staple matter of Cervantes' Don Quijote (along with material from the chivalric novels), extracting ideas from the ballads of Gaiferos, Montesinos and Belerma.[51] Calderón and Lope de Vega use them, even sometimes depend on them, in their dramatic works. The metre of the comedia-line seems to absorb the romance within itself, and a particular practice of Lope de Vega's was to use the romance as a conversational device. The most noticeable change taking place in the romance during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries does not seem to affect the traditional romances as much as to cultivate a completely new trend in popular poetry. In 1589 Pedro Moncayo published his Flor de varios romances nuevos (Huesca and 1591, Perpignan) in which every romance was written by a known author. This marked the acceptance of a new movement in poetry. The romance had been accepted by poets as a form in itself, and they had begun to write romances in quantities great enough to merit their publication in complete volumes

of romanceros. Possibly the first man to deliberately imitate the romance line was Juan del Encina, but it was not until the late sixteenth century that the vogue for the form really took a hold. Góngora and Quevedo both wrote prolifically in the form, adopting artistic rather than simplistic expression. With the deliberate textual composition of these romances nuevos or artísticos there emerged a whole range of new themes and methods of treatment. The romance a lo divino flourished, Góngora and Quevedo became masters of the satirical and burlesque romance style, the chivalresque and novelesque ballads became more glittering and fantastic. Generally the move was towards a more lyrical style, particularly in the romance morisco, perhaps the most popular type of all. It enjoyed a special success between 1550 and 1630 in particular with known poets, as did also the romance pastoril. However, its function was not as an historical tale of the Reconquest but, like the pastoriles, 'bajo el disfraz de protagonistas musulmanes cantan aventuras amorosas'.[52] The esteem which the Christians held for the Moors in the Middle Ages developed into a total exaltation of the exoticism and luxury of the Muslim empire. Chivalry and sentimentality were the attractions for the inventive seventeenth-century poets, and the romance pastoril afforded occasion for the learned poets to display their classical and mythological knowledge. Passion and rhetorical device had ousted heroism and formulaic expression, except in the form of parody. However, the greater part of the romances nuevos was amorous in tone and subject matter, new modes of expressing courtly compliments and disguising loving secrets behind Moors and shepherds.

With the gradual poetic refinement of the romance nuevo

the form became more lyrical. Eventually aesthetic considerations brought about the addition of *estribillos* and the introduction of the *seguidilla*. The popularity of the strict form waned rapidly following the publication in 1600 of the *Romancero general*, and apart from its use in drama it had virtually disappeared by the middle of the eighteenth century, except of course in the hearts of the people. Even the *romancero nuevo* had been assimilated to an extent into the variants and versions of oral tradition. *Romances* still sung or recited today often show signs of their descent from those written by known seventeenth-century poets. The emotive power of the form re-emerges in the beautiful work of Federico García Lorca and other poets of the Generation of 1927. It seems that once heard, a *romance* is rarely forgotten, for:

> Cantar que del alma sale
> es pájaro que no muere,
> volando de boca en boca
> Dios manda que viva siempre.[53]

the form became more lyrical. Eventually aesthetic considerations brought about the addition of estribillos and the introduction of the seguidilla. The popularity of the strict form waned rapidly following the publication in 1600 of the Romancero general, and apart from its use in drama it had virtually disappeared by the middle of the eighteenth century, except of course in the hearts of the people. Even the romancero nuevo had been assimilated to an extent into the variants and versions of oral tradition. Romances still sung or recited today often show signs of their descent from those written by known seventeenth-century poets. The emotive power of the form re-emerges in the beautiful work of Federico García Lorca and other poets of the Generation of 1927. It seems that once heard, a romance is rarely forgotten, for:

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CHAPTER III

A BIOGRAPHY OF GÓNGORA

Luis de Góngora y Argote was born in Cordoba on 11 July 1561 to Don Francisco de Argote and Doña Leonor de Góngora.[1] Throughout his life he was known by his mother's name, Luis de Góngora, a fact which Penney asserts was a personal choice made by Don Luis around the year 1581,[2] a decision based entirely upon the sound of the name. This only goes to prove how many legends it is possible to fabricate around the lesser-known facts of a poet's life. Alonso dismisses such an assertion by pointing out that the priority of patronymic or matronymic was less fixed than in modern times,[3] but the absolute proof comes from documentary sources. In the will of Góngora's uncle, Francisco de Góngora, dated 31 August 1575 (six years before Penney claims the change of name takes place) there appears the following:

> al señor don Francisco de Argote, mi cuñado,
> e a <u>don Luis de Góngora</u>, su hijo,....
> (my italics).[4]

So little is known of Luis's childhood that the few factual

details often become intertwined with legend.[5] What is known for certain is that he was a talented child. Pellicer, perhaps a little romantic in his view, says:[6]

> Pasó los años infantes hasta quinze con el decoro, i cuidado que pedia la educacion de su sangre advertida de las esperanças maiores que con el sol de la razon començaron a amanecer en sus menores años.

Góngora attended the Jesuit school in Cordoba, where he would have studied Latin and Greek from about ten years of age, and this period of his life came to an abrupt end at fifteen. Góngora was sent to study law at Salamanca University where he matriculated on 18 November 1576. As a student his expenses were great, although probably not solely due to the charges for student lodging. It was Góngora's uncle, Don Francisco de Góngora, racionero of Cordoba Cathedral, who gave certain ecclesiastical benefices for his nephew to help pay for his expensive education.[7] In order to receive these benefices it was necessary for the young man to take minor religious orders, and in anticipation of his financial needs he must have done so before October 1576.[8]

Once again, few facts are known about Góngora's student life except that he was probably already writing poetry at that time. It seems likely, from documents bearing his signature, that he had returned to his native Cordoba by 1580, a year which is likely to be the earliest date for the compositions known to us. Some romances may be of earlier origin; it is not possible to be exact. The Chacón manuscript is the only one which provides possible dates for Góngora's poems and, as it is thought that compilation of the manuscript did not begin until 1620 at the earliest, the earlier poems are likely to have

only approximate dates.[9] Nevertheless, the earliest romances in this manuscript are 'Ciego que apuntas y atinas' (1), 'Los rayos le cuenta al sol' (2), 'La más bella niña' (3) and 'Hermana Marica' (4), two of which are romances amorosos, and none of which is likely to have been written before 1580.[10] In this same year the first of Góngora's works was published; a canción, 'Suena la trompa bélica', appeared in the prologue to Luis Gómez de Tapía's translation of Os Lusiados. This was a topical subject owing to the link it had with the annexation of Portugal to Spain under Philip II which was finalized in the same year.

At this stage of his poetic career Góngora made much use of the romance form, producing an average of three every year between 1580 and 1591. The vast majority of these early romances can be classified as romances amorosos. He did not begin to write sonnets until 1582 and then favoured this Italianate form more than the romance for the following four years, although the romance emerges as more abundant later. The most noticeable trait of his romance production is that it remained relatively stable throughout Góngora's poetic career, whereas production of the sonnet, for instance, seemed to ebb and flow. Furthermore, apart from the final few years of his life, Góngora produced more, and more continuously, romances amorosos than any other type. During the early years output was particularly high, 'En el caudaloso río' (5) and two others appeared in 1581, with another three romances including the amorosos 'En la pedregosa orilla' (9) and 'Que se nos va la Pascua, mozas' (10) appearing in 1582.[11] Two romances moriscos were written in 1583 - 'Amarrado al duro banco' (11) and 'La desgracia del forzado' (12) - and another 'Aquel rayo de la guerra' (14) in

1584 alongside the amorosos 'Aquí entre la verde juncia' (13) and 'Noble desengaño' (15).

All of these romances and other pieces of Góngora's work almost certainly enjoyed wide circulation in manuscript form, for the praise of Góngora's work by Cervantes, in La Galatea, could not have been given on the basis of the single published canción. Caliopés song of La Galatea (1584) bears the eulogy:

> En don Luis de Góngora os ofrezco
> un vivo raro ingenio sin segundo;
> con sus obras me alegro y me enriquezco
> no sólo yo mas todo el ancho mundo.
> Y si por lo que os quiero algo merezco,
> haced que su saber alto y profundo
> en vuestras alabanzas siempre viva
> contra el ligero tiempo y muerte esquiva.
> (my italics)[12]

The second of Góngora's poems to be published, in 1584, was a sonnet 'Cantastes, Rufo, tan heroicamente' written specifically to appear in the first few pages of his friend Juan Rufo's La Austríada.

In 1585 Góngora took up the position of racionero of Cordoba Cathedral, which his uncle Francisco had relinquished in his favour, and on 5 July he was elected head of revenues for the Cathedral chapter.[13] During the same year he visited Granada, and it was either there or on his return to Cordoba that he penned his masterful sonnet 'A Córdoba'.[14] He also composed four romances including the moriscos 'Entre los sueltos caballos' (16) and 'Ensíllenme el asno rucio' (18), and the burlesque denial of love 'Ahora, que estoy despacio' (19). Artigas attributes 'Ilustre ciudad famosa' (22) to this same year,[15] although most give the date as 1586 along with 'Triste pisa y afligido' (21) and 'Criábase el albanés' (20).[16] On 23 August Francisco Pacheco arrived in Cordoba as new Bishop

of the diocese. In an attempt to dispel allegations that the chapter of Cordoba tended toward laxity, Pacheco ordered a series of enquiries about each member of the chapter. Once a list of charges had been compiled, each man was interviewed on the counts brought against him. Those against Góngora are to be found in several biographical studies of the poet,[17] and are neatly summarized by Dámaso Alonso:[18]

> "que asiste rara vez a coro", y que cuando acude "andá de aca para allá saliendo con frequencia de su silla"; que habla mucho durante el oficio...; que forma en los corillos del Arco de Bendiciones donde se habla de vidas ajenas: que ha concurrido a fiestas de toros; que "vive como muy mozo y anda de día y de noche en cosas ligeras, trata representantes de comedias y escribe coplas profanas".

Góngora's answers to these relatively insignificant charges, again summarized by Alonso, are suitably lighthearted. At the daily celebrations of the canonical hours he said that he was:

> "con tanto silencio como el que más, porque aunque quiera no estar con el que se me manda, tengo a mis lados un sordo y uno que jamás cesa de cantar, y así callo por no tener quien me responda...." Dice también: ni mi vida "es tan escandaloso ni yo tan viejo que se me pueda acusar vivir como mozo." (Alonso, p.43)

Actors came to his house to share his love of music and he admitted to having attended bullfights in the company of higher-ranking chapter members. He confessed also to being a writer of secular poetry, although he insisted that he had not written all of those verses attributed to him. Of those he had written he asked to be excused his lack of theological knowledge because he considered that: 'he tenido por mejor ser condenado por liviano que por hereje' (Alonso pp.43-4). The penance given to

Góngora by Bishop Pacheco was only as severe as his 'crimes' - charged to attend no more bullfights, he was to pay a fine of four ducados towards good works.

It is typical of Góngora's nature that he should then proceed to write a gentle burlesque upon the investigation in the romance 'Hanme dicho, hermanas' (24). His insistence that the secular poetry was justified and decent is then flaunted in the same year with the fascinatingly ambiguous romance morisco, 'Servía en Orán al rey' (23).[19] Six sonnets and two more romances were written in 1588, and his fame spread when his romances began to be published in compiled romanceros, the first occasion being in the Flor de varios y nuevos romances... recopilados por Andrés de Villalta, Valencia, 1588, and its subsequent re-editions in Valencia (Moncayo, 1589) and Perpignan (Moncayo, 1591).[20]

Neither the investigations nor his continuing authorship of secular poetry did anything to harm Góngora's ecclesiastical career, for in 1589 he was commissioned to investigate the claims of limpieza de sangre of those making application for ecclesiastical posts. On 30 August he left Cordoba for Mazuecos in Palencia. His enquiries completed by 20 September, Góngora returned via Madrid where he was taken ill. The single romance written in that year was dwarfed by the production of ten letrillas, a form with which the poet now appeared confident after experimenting with it only a few times before.[21] From this time onwards until 1617 Góngora was to spend a considerable part of his life travelling on embassages and in the execution of his investigative work for the Church. In 1590 he was in Seville for the festival of San Hermenegildo, and his sonnet 'Hoy el sacro y venturoso día' carried off the prize in the

certamen poético held in the saint's honour. In spite of the ecclesiastical tasks in his life, Góngora nevertheless found time to pen six romances, among them the morisco 'Famosos son en las armas' (28) and two delightful romances amorosos, 'Frescos airecillos' (29) and 'Lloraba la niña' (30). In 1591 three more romances are thought to have been composed, and the same selection of romances as had previously appeared in the Villalta (Moncayo) romancero were published in the Flor de varios romances nuevos y canciones, primera y segunda parte, ahora nuevamente recopilados y puestos en orden por Andrés de Villalta...Añadiose ahora nuevamente la tercera parte por Felipe Mey.[22]

This was a significant period in Spanish history. Spain was at war with France, the English attacked from the sea major ports such as Cadiz, and the Armada was defeated by Drake. Philip III came to the throne in 1598. Although Góngora was aware of these events he makes no direct reference to them in his romances. Only a couple of sonnets were written as an heroic compliment to soldiers,[23] and even these are not closely connected to the greater scheme of historical events. Góngora was in Madrid in 1592, making provision for his brother, and in that year produced no new romances, although four appeared in another publication - Quarta y quinta parte de flor de romances recopilados por Sebastián Vélez de Guevara.[24] In the following year, 1593, Góngora left for Salamanca on 28 June to welcome the new Bishop of Salamanca, and later, on 30 August he fell ill again, this time so gravely that he was unable to resume his journey back to Cordoba before 26 November. This illness became the subject of several poems in that year, the sonnets 'Huésped sacro, señor, no peregrino' and 'Descaminado,

enfermo, peregrino', and the romance 'No me bastaba el peligro' (37). Two other romances were produced in the same year, one of them a romance morisco 'Levantando blanca espuma' (39). The vogue for the romancero nuevo increased and each year more compilations appeared containing romances composed by Góngora, Lope and other celebrated poets. Each compilation ran into several editions as the eager literate public snapped them up the moment they appeared. Three reprints of previous publications (Villalta and Moncayo) appeared in 1593, and also the newer Quarta, quinta y sexta parte de flor de romances nuevos nunca hasta agora impressos llamado Ramillete de Flores.[25] The trend continued over the next few years, with more parts of the Flor de romance appearing prior to their eventual collection by Miguel Martínez in the Romancero general of 1600.[26] Its success was immediate and it was reprinted in Medina del Campo (1602) and Madrid (1604). A second part was added to it in 1605.[27]

Góngora's ecclesiastical career improved from 1594 when he was elected treasurer of the chapter at Cordoba on 22 June. A solitary romance 'Moriste, Ninfa bella' (40) appeared in that year, commemorating the death of the nun Doña Luisa de Cardona. This and one of two more romances written in 1595, 'Sin Leda y sin esperanza' (41), have often led scholars to speculate upon a romantic attachment that Góngora may have felt towards Luisa de Cardona. Jammes gives elaborate details of the arguments for and against this.[28] Góngora undertook an embassage to Husillos, Palencia in 1596 and two years later was further promoted as assistant to the Bishop of Cordoba. Further success came with his appointment as auditor of the chapter in 1600, at the age of thirty-nine, and when the see of Cordoba became

vacant in August 1601 Góngora hoped to be chosen for it, although without success. Whilst his career was undergoing considerable advancement Góngora produced few romances. Over a period of six years he wrote only five,[29] but after 1601 his interest in the romance was revived with the production of three romances including the romance de cautivos 'Según vuelan por el agua' (49) and the since highly acclaimed 'En un pastoral albergue' (48). It is interesting to note that the latter, with its superb rustico-pastoral setting, is written at the time when the chapter of Cordoba took out a lease on the Huerta de don Marcos, near Cordoba, for Góngora.[30]

The year 1603 marked an even larger increase in Góngora's poetic activity. In all he wrote fourteen sonnets, two letrillas and as many as four romances,[31] of which the lovely 'En los pinares de Júcar' (52) is reminiscent of Góngora's journey to Cuenca in that year on his investigations of limpieza de sangre. This work was completed by 6 May, and between May and November Góngora stayed in Valladolid, where the Court was in residence. To return to Cordoba eventually he was forced to borrow the sum of 1,500 reales (7 November). During his stay at Court Góngora concentrated on more courtly forms of poetry, particularly the sonnet, and wrote only one romance in that year, probably on his return to Cordoba, and another in 1605. It was in 1605 that Pedro Espinosa published his Primera parte de las flores de poetas ilustres de España. Dividida en dos libros (Valladolid) in which Góngora figured as the major contributor among others such as Espinosa himself, Quevedo, Salinas and Lope de Vega.[32] It is not possible to know whether Góngora gave his consent to the use of his works. However, unauthorized publication obviously troubled him, for on 30 September

1605 a document was drawn up to prohibit this.[33]

Góngora's interests had by this time moved to more courtly circles, with a view to accompanying one of his patrons on their viceregal duties abroad. In 1606 and 1607 he spent some considerable time with the Marqueses de Ayamonte at their estate near Huelva, writing courtly and amorous poetry, including a romance in their honour.[34] The Marqués had been in line to become the viceroy of Mexico, and probably Góngora hoped to be included in his entourage. However the Marquesa died in November 1607 and Góngora's hopes were dashed for the scheme was abandoned. Another of his patrons, the Conde de Lemos, left Spain as viceroy of Naples in 1608, but again Góngora was not included among his attendants. The sole romance of that year, 'Las flores del romero' (58), is a thinly-disguised reflection of his disappointment.

1609 was feverishly busy for Góngora, travelling widely in investigations of the limpieza de sangre of Don Diego Pardo. Between 3 and 6 April he was to be found in Madrid, on 19 in Alcala, and he had reached Burgos by 29 April. He was in Alava on 6 and 7 May and in Pontevedra by 3 June. Although the investigation was completed shortly afterwards, Góngora remained in Madrid until 27 November and only then returned to Cordoba. He managed to write thirteen sonnets, at least one letrilla and two romances - 'En el baile del ejido' (60) and 'Esperando están la rosa' (61) - in between all this travelling. The years 1610 to 1616 were those when Góngora concentrated his efforts seriously upon his poetry,[35] but it was also a time of bitter disappointments. In 1610 he took part in a certamen poético for the celebrations of San Ignacio in Seville. His sonnet 'En tenebrosa noche, en mar airado' was

beaten by one from Juan de Jáuregui.[36] Góngora was now in Cordoba, his health gradually worsening, and he made provision for his nephew Luis de Saavedra y Góngora to receive his ración after his death.[37] Ill health, however, was no bar to his creativity: 'Apeóse el caballero' (62) and two other romances of 1610 were followed by two more, including 'Cloris el más bello grano' (66) in 1611. This was also an important year for influence on Góngora's poetry for Luis de Carillo y Sotomayor's Obras appeared in print posthumously, within which was his version of the Fábula de Acis y Galatea. It is certain that Góngora would have read these works and possibly taken them with him on his sojourn at the Huerta de don Marcos in 1612. Then he put aside composition in shorter measures for his longer works, although echoes of the romances can be heard in both the Fábula de Polifemo which appeared in Madrid in 1613 and in the Soledades. These major works were given a mixed reception and prompted both commentaries and antídotos. Góngora was greatly disappointed when the first Soledad was attacked, and did not complete the others he had probably planned. Instead he returned to shorter compositions, the romances 'Cuántos silbos, cuántas voces' (68) in 1613 and 'La semilla caída' (69) for the beatification of Santa Teresa de Jesús, under the pseudonym of Vicario de Trassierra.[38] The number of romances increased to four in 1614 including the amorosos 'Cuatro o seis desnudos hombros' (70), 'Al campo salió el estío' (71) and 'Contando estaban sus rayos' (72).

Góngora followed the Court to Toledo and soon pressed one of his patrons, the Duque de Lerma, for whom he composed a panegyric between 1616 and 1617, to recommend him for the post of Royal Chaplain. This was granted to him on 15 October

1617. Although the majority of Góngora's compositions at this time were in the more courtly sonnet form, the most ambitious of his romances was produced in 1618, the magnificent burlesque Fábula de Píramo y Tisbe ('La ciudad de Babilonia' (74)). In spite of this poetic success Góngora was in financial difficulties due to his expenses at Court. An attempt to gain the Chantry of Cordoba failed and he was forced to send for all the money from his ración. When the Court moved to Portugal in 1619 he could not afford to follow it and, renewing his writing, created four romances, among them 'Callaré la pena mía' (76) and 'Ojos eran fugitivos' (77). Seven more romances appeared in 1620, of which two were in honour of Prince Philip and his wife ('Al tronco de un verde mirto' (81) and 'Las esmeraldas en yerba' (80)) and a third to Don Antonio Ponce de León y Chacón, 'Con su querida Amarylis' (85).[39] Some scholars suggest that it was at this time that Vicuña's collection of some of Góngora's works was due to appear, but some disagreement took place and Vicuña was prohibited by the earlier statute from going ahead with publication without Góngora's consent. His Obras en verso del Homero español appeared in print immediately after Góngora's death in 1627. From 1620 onwards it seems that Góngora gave his help to Chacón, to whom the above romance is dedicated, to re-collect all existing compositions in one manuscript, and this continued up till the poet's death, although it was not published until after its rediscovery in the twentieth century.[40]

1621 was a sad year for Góngora. His own health declined further and he wrote more elegies than satires. With the death of the king and the succession to the throne of Philip IV in March of 1621, the way was clear for the rise of the

Conde-Duque de Olivares and the demise of previous Court favourites, among them Góngora's patrons and friends. Rodrigo Calderón, Marqués de Sieteiglesias, and a good friend to the poet, was executed in October 1621. Three romances were composed in that year, one of these an expression of disappointment at the mutability of circumstances, 'Guarda corderos, zagala' (87). For the first time since the prohibition document was signed, some of Góngora's works were published in Primavera y flor de los mejores romances que han salido, aora nuevamente en esta Corte recogidos de varios poetas...dirigido al maestro Tirso de Molina.[41] It can only be assumed that Góngora gave his consent as a mark of respect for Tirso. Another sad loss came in 1622 when Góngora's friend the Conde de Villamediana was assassinated in a staged street-brawl on 21 August.[42] Two months later Góngora's patron the Conde de Lemos died. Naturally, the poetry of this year, even its three romances, is more sober than usual, and only three more romances appear between 1621 and the end of Góngora's life.[43]

The last few years of Góngora's life saw him well-acquainted with Olivares, who continually promised him pensions yet did little to arrange them. However, he urged the poet to order his works for publication, and it may be partly because of this that the Chacón manuscript is so extensive. In 1625 Góngora was granted a pension in the diocese of Cordoba, but unhappily the new landlord of his house in Madrid, Francisco de Quevedo, evicted him, and the death occurred of Cristóbal de Heredia, who for many years had assisted him financially. Still in Madrid, in late February or early March of 1626, Góngora suffered an apoplexy which left him paralysed and with a partial loss of memory.[44] He was close to death at one point

so that the Queen sent her own physicians from Aragon to attend him, and having made some recovery he retired to Cordoba. His condition was so bad that on 30 October he was granted a licence to hear mass in his own home. Yet he had not quite forgotten his poetry, for on 1 November he signed a document donating his works to his nephew Luis de Saavedra y Góngora. Part of it reads:[45]

> por quanto yo e hecho algunas obras, así en poesía como en prossa, y dellas tengo boluntad de haçer donaçión a don Luys de Saabedra y Góngora, mi sobrino,...para que él suplique a Su Magestad y señores de Su Real Consejo le den lissencia para inprimillas en su cabeza y él goze de sus aprobechamientos, y poniendo en efeto este deseo y determinada boluntad, en la mexor manera que puedo y a lugar de derecho, hago graçia y donaçión en ffauor del dicho don Luys de Saabedra y Góngora, mi sobrino, de las dichas mis obras, sin eçeptar ni rreserbar cossa alguna dellas,...
>
> ...doy y otorgo a el dicho don Luys de Sa Saabedra, mi sobrino, poder cunplido y tan bastante como de derecho se rrequiere para que pueda parezer y parezca ante Su Magestad y señores de su Real Consejo y pida lisenzia para ymprimir las dichas mis obras y haga en rraçón dello las súplicas, pedimientos, autos y diligenzias que sean nezesarios y las que saque en su cabeza y goçe de sus aprobechamientos por que tenga cuydado de hazer bien por mí alma, y en efeto haga en rraçón del que se le dé la dicha lisencia para la dicha ynpresión todo aquello que conbenga y que yo haría si ffuese presente, que para ello le doy mi mesmo poder como de derecho se rrequiere y con facultad de lo sustituir para las dichas diligençias....

Góngora died in his home on 23 May 1627 and was buried in the family vault in the chapel of San Bartolomé in Cordoba Cathedral.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1 See Jose de la Torre, 'Documentos gongorinos', BRAC, VI (1927), 65-216. Document 16, 12 July 1561, pp.98-99.

2 C. L. Penney, Luis de Góngora y Argote (New York, Hispanic Society of America, 1926).

3 Dámaso Alonso, Góngora y el Polifemo, 6th edition, 3 vols (Madrid, Gredos, 1974), I, p.35.

4 'Documentos gongorinos', doc. 24, 31 August 1575, pp. 105-9.

5 Several biographers have tended towards elaborate tales of how he banged his head severely in a bad fall when very small, with suggestions that this accounted for the 'unbalanced' nature and obscurity of his poetry. Others have indulged in speculation as to the effect of events in Cordoba during his formative years on Góngora's literary putput, such as Artigas in Don Luis de Góngora, Biografía y estudio crítico (Madrid, RAE, 1925), chapter II.

6 Joseph Pellicer de Salas y Tovar, Vida y escritos de don Luis de Góngora (Vida menor) from Manuscrito Chacón, Preliminarios del tomo 1, given in R. Foulché-Delbosc, Obras poéticas de don Luis de Góngora, 3 vols (New York, Hispanic Society of America, 1921, repr. Biblioteca Hispánica, 1970), III, p.291. (Hereafter referred to as F-D.)

7 'Documentos gongorinos', doc. 27, 16 October 1576, p.113-14.

8 'Documentos gongorinos', doc. 26, 16 October 1576, p.112: "sepan quantos esta carta de poder vieren cómo yo don Luis de Góngora, clérigo de corona,..." (my italics).

9 See the Chacón manuscript as given by F-D in Obras poéticas....

10 All numbers in brackets are those given in the edition of Antonio Carreño, Romances (Madrid, Cátedra, 1982). I use his dating and orthography throughout when quoting romances unless otherwise stated.

11 1582 was the year in which romances were overshadowed by thirteen sonnets.

12 La Galatea. edited by J. Bautista Avalle-Arce, 2 vols (Madrid, Espasa Calpe, 1968), II, p.210.

13 Miguel Artigas, Biografía..., ch.IV.

14 But see R. P. Calcraft, 'Góngora's sonnet 'A Córdoba'', FMLS 27 (1981), 83-87.

15 Artigas, Biografía...,ch.IV.

16 Chacón manuscript as found in F-D; Romances. edited by José María de Cossío (Madrid, Alianza, 1980); Carreño edition of Romances.

17 Artigas, Penney and others.

18 Alonso, Góngora y el Polifemo I p.43.

19 See my analysis of the poem in chapter V.

20 Seven romances and two romancillos were included by Góngora -

'La más bella niña'
'Las redes sobre el arena'
'Que se nos va la pascua, mozas'
'Amarrado al duro banco'
'Aquí entre la verde juncia'
'Aquel rayo de la guerra'
'Noble desengaño'
'Ensíllenme el asno rucio'
'Ahora, que estoy despacio'

F-D, III, p.90.

21 The letrilla was to be used mainly as a basis for satirical comment in Góngora's work, although he also produced a series of extremely beautiful

letrillas sacras.

22 Valencia 1591 (F-D, III). Part 3 contains 'Servía en Orán al rey'.

23 For example the sonnets: Del Marqués de Santa Cruz. ('No en bronces, que caducan, mortal mano') and A don Luis de Vargas ('Tú, cuyo ilustre, entre una y otra almena'), 1588, nos.4 and 5 in Sonetos completos, edited by Biruté Ciplijauskaité, 3rd edition (Madrid, Castalia, 1978), pp.56-7.

24 Burgos, 1592:

'Ciego que apuntas y atinas'
'La desgracia del forzado'
'A vos digo, señor Tajo'

in addition to those in earlier parts.

25 Pedro de Flores, Lisbon:

'Ciego que apuntas y atinas'
'La desgracia del forzado'
'Criábase el albanés'
'Triste pisa y afligido'
'Arrojóse el mancebito'
'Dejad los libros ahora'
'A vos digo, señor Tajo'
'Levantando blanca espuma'.

26 See Romancero general facsimile, edition of González Palencia, and Las fuentes del Romancero general, edited by A. Rodríguez-Moñino, 12 vols (Madrid, 1957).

Romancero general en que se contienen todos los romances que andan impresos en las nueve partes de romanceros.

(1) 'Ensíllenme el asno rucio'
'Amarrado al duro banco'
(2) 'Aquel rayo de la guerra'
'Las redes sobre el arena'
'La más bella niña'
'Que se nos va la pascua, mozas'
'Ahora, que estoy despacio'
'Noble desengaño'
'Aquí entre la verde juncia'
(4) 'Ciego que apuntas y atinas'
'A vos digo, señor Tajo'
(5) 'La desgracia del forzado'
'Arrojóse el mancebito'

letrillas sacras.

22 Valencia 1591 (F-D, III). Part 3 contains 'Servía en Orán al rey'.

23 For example the sonnets: Del Marqués de Santa Cruz. ('No en bronces, que caducan, mortal mano') and A don Luis de Vargas ('Tú, cuyo ilustre, entre una y otra almena'), 1588, nos.4 and 5 in Sonetos completos. edited by Biruté Ciplijauskaité, 3rd edition (Madrid, Castalia, 1978), pp.56-7.

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'Ahora, que estoy despacio'
'Noble desengaño'
'Aquí entre la verde juncia'
(4) 'Ciego que apuntas y atinas'
'A vos digo, señor Tajo'
(5) 'La desgracia del forzado'
'Arrojóse el mancebito'

(6) 'Levantando blanca espuma'
'Dejad un rato los libros'
' 'Triste pisa y afligido'
'Criábase el albanés'
(8) 'Diez años vivió Belerma'
'En el caudaloso río'
(9) 'Ilustre ciudad famosa'
'Dejad un rato'
'Hamme dicho hermanas'
'En el caudaloso río'
'En la pedregosa orilla'

27 Segunda parte del Romancero general y flor de diversa poesía. Recopilada por Miguel de Madrigal. Valladolid.

28 R. Jammes, Études sur l'oeuvre poétique de don Luis de Góngora y Argote (Bordeaux, 1967), p. 419 and following.

29 'Temo tanto los serenos' (43), 1596, dedicated to Don Pedro de Venegas and often used as a proof of Góngora's enjoyment of cards.

30 'Documentos gongorinos', doc.68, 17 June 1602, pp.161-66.

31 F-D gives the dates of two of these as 1605.

32 Most of these were sonnets due to the editor's aim of producing a volume of poetry which was popular yet learned.

33 'Documentos gongorinos', doc.78, 30 September 1605, p.183:

> "...(que) sean y contradezir e contradiga qualquier impresión o estampa que se pretenda hazer y hiziere de qualquier obra mía por qualquiera persona y pida que no se haga la dicha impresión y si se vbiere fecho se dé por ninguna y que no se inprima, y en la dicha rraçón presente qualesquier escritos de querellas contra las personas que lo hizieren y pidan sean presos y condenados en la mayores penas que de derecho vbiere lugar y presente testigos y escrituras, rresponde a lo de contrarío....

34 'Donde esclarecidamente' (57); also sonnets and décimas. (See chapter VII.)

35 Alonso includes these years in what he calls Góngora's 'época cordobesa'. More recent scholars are less inclined to draw distinctions.

36 Published in Relación de la fiesta que se hizo en Sevilla a la beatificación del glorioso san Ignacio fundador de la compañía de Jesús. 1615.

37 'Documentos gongorinos', doc.90, 18 February 1616, pp.195-8.

38 Obras completas de Luis de Góngora, edited by J. and I. Millé y Giménez, 6th edition (Madrid, Aguilar, 1972), p.1111. Festivities took place in May 1614 in Cordoba.

39 Also two moriscos amorosos, 'En la fuerza de Almería' (82) and 'Por las faldas del Atlante' (83), the rústico 'Minguilla la siempre bella' (84) and the romance sacro 'Cuántos silbos, cuántas voces' (86).

40 See introduction to F-D, I, p.ix:

> 'Existe, en cambio, una colección manuscrita de obras de Góngora, hasta hoy muy poco explorada, que - salvo una excepción - nunca fué tenida en cuenta por los editores del poeta, y que se conserva en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. Tal es el manuscrito Chacón, colección formada por el cuidado de don Antonio Chacón Ponce de León, señor de Polvoranca, quien la hizo consultando constantemente con Góngora los textos, las fechas y la indicación de los asuntos, según el mismo Chacón lo declara en su prólogo. Es decir, que el manuscrito Chacón viene a ser una colección hecha bajo la vigilancia del autor....La dedicatoria de Chacón al Conde-Duque de Olivares está fechada en 12 de diciembre de 1628.'

41 Poems written for poetry competitions were printed in the records of the festivities held in honour of Santa Teresa and San Ignacio (see note 36) 'por el licenciado Pedro Arias Perez' Madrid, 1621, included the letrilla 'No son todos ruiseñores' (in R. Jammes, Letrillas (Madrid, Castalia, 1980), no.II), 'Escuchadme un rato atentos' (17), 'Saliéndome esotro día' (63) and 'Minguilla la siempre bella' (84). This work ran to eighteen editions.

42 Rumours that he was involved with the Queen spread after he carried her to safety from a fire, and there

were those who wished his downfall at court. See Artigas, Biografía..., ch. XI.

43 One of these, 'Todo se murmura', 1626 (94), is included by Carreño accompanied by the note:

> 'Ms Chacón (F.-D., II num 422). M.-G., al igual que F.-D., lo incluyen como "letrilla satírica". M.-G. indica al respecto: "lleva esta composición, efectivamente, el título de letrilla, pero es en realidad un romance,...', p.474.

44 His memory was still good enough ro remember extensive lists of debts when making his will. (Artigas, Biografía..., ch.XII, and 'Semblanza de Góngora', Revista de Atenea. Chile, 393 (1961), 5-46.

45 'Documentos gongorinos', doc.97, 1 November 1626, p.207-9.

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45 'Documentos gongorinos', doc.97, 1 November 1626, p.207-9.

CHAPTER IV

TEXTS, CLASSIFICATION AND CRITICISMS OF THE ROMANCES OF LUIS DE GÓNGORA

The surviving texts of the works of Góngora are by and large well-documented; almost all writers concerned with the works provide comprehensive reviews of these texts. Foulché-Delbosc includes a chronological table of the texts in which works of Góngora have been published in the 1970 edition of the Obras poéticas de don Luis de Góngora.[1] and the list of works has been added to more recently by J. F. Montesinos and other careful scholars.[2] Until 1921 the accepted texts of Góngora's works those were those produced by Juan López de Vicuña in 1627 and Gonzalo de Hoces y Córdoba in 1633. The latter work augmented the former with compositions attributed to Góngora extracted from compiled romanceros and from manuscripts. The amount of extra material can be illustrated by the example of the romances alone. Vicuña included a total of seventy romances (with the 'Fábula de Píramo y Tisbe') whilst Hoces claimed one hundred and six to be by Góngora, some of which, however, remain rather doubtful in authorship. Neverless, many of these

extra poems are easily accounted for. Vicuña and Góngora were acquainted, and were possibly partners in the compilation of a Góngora text for publication. The 1627 edition of Obras en verso del Homero español is preceded by the usual licencia and privilegio bearing the date 1620, a conclusive proof that the text was due to appear close to that earlier date.[3] Some disagreement between Góngora and Vicuña led to the author's prohibition of publication, and Vicuña was forced to withhold his prepared text until after the poet's death. Therefore the text includes none of the poems composed later than 1620, which accounts for certain of the extra numbers in the Hoces edition. Other additions were likely to have been compiled from manuscripts and publications containing poems attributed to Góngora.

Notably few poems were published during Góngora's lifetime, and of these the romances occupy a privileged status. More romances appeared in print whilst the poet lived than any other genre, due to the vogue for the romancero during the latter part of the sixteenth century. Their popularity elicited numerous reprints, but Góngora was to prohibit the use of these obras sueltas upon his decision, presumably, to compile the texts of his own works.[4] Thus, because no definitive versions of the poems were printed whilst the poet was alive, the Vicuña and Hoces editions were to be regarded as complete by those who followed. Only one editor, as far as is known, referred to a further source for the poetry. José Pellicer de Salas y Tovar must have consulted another manuscript when writing his commentary of Góngora's works, the Lecciones solemnes (first published in 1630), for he included the final forty-three lines of the Soledad segunda, missing from the already published versions. The only manuscript source of these lines is that

compiled by Don Antonio Ponce de León y Chacón, rediscovered only in 1900.[5] This manuscript differs at times in content and in detail from the two major texts in print, and one of its distinguishing features is that it lists the poetry in chronological order, giving dates which are for the most part undisputed.[6] The origin of the manuscript is that it was compiled by Chacón with Góngora's help and co-operation between the years 1620 and 1627. Certain alterations to individual poems within it can be explained by the theory formed by Alfonso Reyes in 1916 in relation to the text of the Lecciones solemnes, and outlined in the essay 'Los textos de Góngora (Corrupciones y alteraciones)':[7]

> Son los principales causas de error, en sentido descendiente de su imputabilidad al poeta:
> 1a. El abandono de Góngora: a), que no coleccionó sus poesías; b), que las dejó correr incompletas; c), que no fijó a tiempo su cronología.
> 2a. Su manía de corrección, que es fuente de variantes igualmente legítimas.
> 3a. La mordacidad de sus sátiras: a), que las hizo disimular o perder; b), pasar por anónimas; c), conservarse como atribuidas a él, pero sin criterio de certeza.
> 4a. La complejidad de su estilo poético, que produjo: a), errores de ignorancia; b). divergencias de interpretación, todo fuente de variantes.
> 5a. La semejanza léxica y técnica de los poetas del ciclo gongorino, que hizo: a), prohijar a Góngora piezas ajenas; b), prohijar a otros piezas propias.
> A estas causas especiales hay que añadir las causas generales de errores mecánicos de copia o de imprenta, ora sean manuales, ora fonéticos.

The Chacón manuscript approached the condition of point 1, for it displays an attempt to collect and date all the poems as accurately as possible, but Góngora's poems seem to have been in a state of constant flux, for he wrote and rewrote wherever

he saw fit. A fine example of this process is revealed in the romance 'La más bella niña', of which three variants exist, the latest of the three being the most stylised and refined.[8] The popularity and repeated publication of the romances in particular must have led to many changes in text, some merely the mechanical errors of which Reyes speaks, but others deliberately altered by Góngora himself in response to criticism:[9]

> Fue docilísimo, y se reducía con facilidad a emendar lo que le censuraban.

The result is that, apart from a few mechanical errors within each individual text or manuscript, the poems there are all authentic, all as far as can be ascertained, written and even corrected (or simply changed) by Góngora in person. A few arguable attributions remain, but for the most part Chacón, Hoces and Vicuña can be accepted as equally authoritative.

The number of romances within each text varies - Vicuña prints seventy, Hoces one hundred and six, and Chacón gives ninety-four, but greater differentiation occurs in their subdivision. The notion of classifying romances into types of subgenre was not new and varied far more than might be expected. It was commonplace for editors and compilers of the seventeenth century to order works under various headings, the main taxonomical considerations being mood or theme. Poems were usually classified according to the major characteristics they displayed, whether they were sacred, lyrical, heroic, satirical, burlesque or amatory. The texts of Góngora's works are no exception to the rule. Vicuña divides the romances as follows:

Amatorios	14
Líricos	28
Satíricos	9

Burlescos	14
Fúnebres	1
Sacros	3

Hoces's taxonomy is of similar proportions:

Amorosos	13	
Líricos	31	
Satíricos[10]	9	
Burlescos	15	
Fúnebres	1	
Sacros	3	
Varios	34	(including líricos and amorosos, and largely those not to be found in Vicuña.)

Although the categories of the Chacón manuscript bear the same headings there are differences in the organisation of the poems among them. The romances are arranged thus:[11]

Sacros	5	(compare 3)
Fúnebres	1	
Amorosos	45	(13/14)
Satíricos	8	(9)
Burlescos	26	(14/15)
Varios	9	(34)
Líricos	0	

The biggest areas of discrepancy are found in the categories Amorosos, Burlescos, and Varios. Hoces's subgenre of romances varios included both Líricos and Amorosos and this accounts for some of the disproportion, and I shall return to this later. The discrepancy in the romances burlescos subgenre is less easy to explain and it was similar differences in the burlesque and satirical sections of the sonnets which most troubled Biruté Ciplijauskaité in her study.[12] The inconsistencies between the texts led Ciplijauskaité to re-categorize the sonnets according to her own criteria and perhaps her most controversial decision was to combine the sonetos satíricos and burlescos in a single section. Her reason for this was the impossibility of

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making a plausible distinction between the two terms, and judging by the confusion (in the romances too) found within the three main texts this was a problem also encountered by the earlier editors. Yet they retained separate categories, even though the standards and criteria by which the poems have been classified are clearly not the same in all cases.

The question calls for clearer definitions of each category. The word 'burlesco' was traced by Corominas to the beginning of the seventeenth century, where it probably stemmed, via Italian, from the word 'burla'. Already known in Spain in 1330, 'burla' is defined in Covarrubias's dictionary as:[13]

> Quasi burrula, por lo que tenemos dicho en la palabra burrhiel [color roxo o bermejo] se entenderá fácilmente de donde truxo origen llamarse burla la cosa de poco valor y de juguete, porque siendo cosa de vil y de poco recio el vestido de paño buriel, dize Calepino:....
> Y así de burrha, diximos burrul y burla. Burlas se contrapone a veras. Hombre de burlas, el que tiene poco valor y assiento. Cosa de burla, la de poca sustancia.... Burla, puede ser vocablo francés, corrompido de Bourde, que vale mentira jocosa.

Covarrubias also defines 'satírico':[14]

> Es un género de verso picante, el qual reprehende los vicios y desordenes de los hombres, y poetas satíricos los que escrivieron el tal verso, como Lucilio, Horacio, Juvenal... [Latin quotation] ... Esto es puesto en Latín por más claridad; los romancistas tengan paciencia y conténtense con lo que diximos al principio.

whilst Corominas records its earliest appearance in the second quarter of the fifteenth century. These apparently clear theoretical definitions need to be more finely determined in practice. Like Ciplijauskaité, Robert Jammes also adopts a personal set of criteria for defining satire and burlesque. These again

are clearly different: satire has a:

> sistema de valores de la ideología dominante [of the Golden Age]: la cobardía, la ignorancia, la mentira, la codicia, todos los vicios denunciados por los moralistas y predicadores, todos los pecados capitales y, a otro nivel, las manías o costumbres ridículas.

These are all material for satire, whilst:[15]

> todo lo que se apoya en su sistema de valores más o menos directamente opuesto al de la ideología dominante: en el Siglo de Oro, el elogio de vino, de la pereza, del sueño, del amor físico, de todo lo carnal y material, o de todo lo feo (esencialmente lo escatológico) pertenecen a la literatura burlesca.

Interestingly, all of these definitions vary. Covarrubias sees satire as the reprehension of vice, whilst Jammes's definition of both groups fulfills that criterion. Covarrubias's burlesco, besides being only a half-formed definition due to the word's etymological infancy, is more concerned with trivial, low-life affairs, whilst Jammes implies more of an attack on society in spite of humorous aspects. All of these, however, could be applied equally to several of Góngora's poems, in which case Ciplijauskaité's decision can be easily understood although not altogether justified.

Several modern editors have, therefore, decided against retaining the traditional groups of poems. Jammes's edition of the letrillas is divided only into líricas, satíricas, burlescas and sacras. Antonio Carreño completely side-steps the problem by discussing various romances under headings in his introduction, but then lists them chronologically in the text.

Indeed, the editor of Góngora's poems finds himself compromised. One solution may be to attempt to find a new system which does not differ radically from the old one; another may be to combine sections of the old system in a more logical form. Unless he avoids it by the total omission of a taxonomy, the editor must make some conscious and even dangerous decisions.

To return to the question of the romances amorosos, it has been noted that they number only thirteen and fourteen in the published texts and forty-five in the Chacón manuscript. The reason is that Chacón lists all the romances líricos and all the varios found in Hoces as romances amorosos, with a single exception. The romance 'Dejad los libros ahora', classed as amatorio by Vicuña and in the varios category of Hoces, is included by Chacón under the heading of romances burlescos. The addition is as follows:

From Vicuña and Hoces:	amorosos	13
	líricos	16
From Hoces only:	varios	1
	varios amorosos	6
	varios líricos	5

giving a total of forty-one romances. The remaining four romances amorosos included by Chacón are 'Callaré la pena mía', 'A la fuente va del olmo', 'Las tres auroras del Tajo' and 'En lágrimas salgan mudos'.

The distinction between romances amorosos and líricos is probably even more difficult to define than that between satíricos and burlescos because the terms are not strictly compatible. The romance amoroso is so called because of its theme, that of love, whilst the romance lírico is determined by stylistic concerns. In any given instance a romance could

easily fulfill both conditions. In the study which follows of the romance amoroso I do not, therefore, limit myself to the thirteen or fourteen poems classified as such by Vicuña and Hoces. Instead I discuss the wider range of poems included in Chacón's subgenre. Furthermore, I include several poems of even more doubtful classification on the basis that, although they may not be strictly amatory, they deal with the theme of love. These renegade romances are often burlesque in nature, making fun of love and lovers; others form part of other groups of basically amatory romances, such as the romances moriscos or rústicos. The criterion I have adopted for the romances I have chosen to study should not lead to any confusion. It is simply this: that the subject of the romance amoroso, regardless of its style or treatment, is love. I feel that I am justified in this for the reasons which follow.

Methods of classification are generally only used for the convenience of the editor, and to place excessive emphasis upon their inflexibility would be ludicrous, particularly when so many of the romances reveal multiple characteristics. Góngora did not adhere throughout his poetic career to one tradition, influence or idea at a time. A motif used once or twice in early romances was often revived twenty or more years later. A promising idea or theme, employed in several successive poems, likewise could be completely abandoned. Furthermore, the complexity of the romances is such that in many cases they defy such simplistic definition. The use of the subgenre is, nevertheless, of great use because it allows the discussion of elements within the romances whilst referring to a smaller and more manageable, body of literature. It is, as I have said, an instrument of convenience, and can therefore

only be successful if it suits the editor or researcher's purpose exactly.

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From their first appearance in manuscript form during 1613 it has always been true that the Soledades and the Fábula de Polifemo have received the majority of critical attention afforded to Góngora's poetry. Their sheer size and radical style produced a literary impact quite impossible to create with a collection of shorter verses. Only in comparatively recent years has a comparable critical interest in the romances of Góngora been cultivated. Whilst the sonnets had always attracted some critical commentary, both the romances and the letrillas were virtually neglected. Those who wished to deprecate the worth of Góngora's poetry, among them Pedro de Valencia (1613), Juan de Jáuregui (1624), Francisco de Cascales (1634) and the Portuguese Manuel de Faria y Sousa (1668), all attacked the style of only the longer compositions.

Fray Juan de Pineda brought notice to the romances and letrillas as he singled out several in his condemnation of Góngora's poetry as it appeared in the Vicuña edition of 1627.[16] Recommending to the Inquisition that the book be prohibited, he levelled accusations of indecency and unsuitability at both the major compositions and the minor satirical and burlesque poems, which he considered to be both licentious and libellous. The official pretexts by which Pineda achieved the prohibition of the book were those that, firstly, the works were not published using the author's proper name (the Vicuña edition is entitled Obras en verso del Homero español), and secondly, that Vicuña failed to obtain the prior permission of the Inquisitor General before he boldly dedicated the work to him. Pineda's personal

quarrel lay deeper than this. Góngora directed the scathing sonnet '¿Yo, en justa injusta, expuesto a la sentencia..?'[17] to Pineda who had intervened in the awarding of poetic prizes in Seville in 1610. Another of Góngora's opponents, Juan de Jáuregui, took the major prize. Pineda waited until the poet's death before he wreaked his revenge, by endeavouring to have the book banned on the grounds that it would damage the reputation of the Church:[18]

> Porque de la indignidad e infamia de un sacerdote se le sigue como dixeron bien Crysóstomo y Sidonio Apollinar, infamia y menoscabo de reputación a todo el estado sacerdotal;...

The Inquisition's ruling was that all lascivious books were to be prohibited and, according to Pineda:[19]

> aunque este libro no sea del todo lasciuo, mas porque el autor sólo tuuo su famosa eminencia en lo lasciuo y picaril, verde y picante, por esta sola materia y título es leído y buscado, como si de esto solo escriuiera, y assí haze tanto daño,...

Pineda was aware of the falsehood of this statement, but chose to pay more heed to Góngora's irreverent attitude to fellow clergymen. It becomes a major argument against the poet in Pineda's condemnation:[20]

> Por hablar con maldiciencia, y picar a todos estados de la República cristiana, y, muy ordinario, de los estados religiosos y eclesíasticos en general, diziendo mal de clérigos y bonetes, de frayles, de monjas, de coronas, de juezes, de abogados, de la corte, de los títulos, de los casados, de las donzellas, poniendo en todos nota de vicio y pecados generalmente.

The <u>romances</u> which particularly angered the priest were the

following:[21]

32	Dejad los libros ahora	in which Góngora does not denounce the sins he describes. He speaks ill of priests and widows.
24	Hanme dicho hermanas	
19	Ahora, que estoy despacio	
8	Diez años vivió Belerma	in which he speaks badly of canons and clerics and gives evil advice.
74	"La Tisbe"	'es lasciva y tiene por toda ella sembrados passos y versos indignos'.
10	Que se nos va la pascua mozas	is neither Christian nor as if it were written by a priest.
4	Hermana Márica	Pineda objects to the ending.
34	Castillo de San Cervantes	in which Góngora speaks ill of Toledo and of married people and is 'lascivo con demasía'.
18	Ensíllenme el asno rucio	bears a lascivious self-portrait.
54	Cuando la rosada aurora	'todo es bajezas, suena mal y huele peor'.

The romances had always been popular, judging by the number of those included in collections during the last years of the sixteenth century. The bad press they received from Pineda in the first half of the seventeenth century did not persuade everyone to eschew them, and several of Góngora's friends and acquaintances came to his defence. José Pellicer de Salas y Tovar wrote of the above maligned Vicuña edition that it should not be used in condemnation of the poet, for it was an unauthorized and defective text, altered in this way:[22]

El tercer impulso fue la lastima de ver las

> Obras de Don Lvis impressas tan indignamente, acaso por la negociacion de algun Enemigo suyo, que mal contento de no auerle podido desluzir en vida, instó en procurar quitarle la opinion despues de muerto, traçando que se estampassen sus Obras (que manuscriptas se vendian en precio quantioso) defectuosas, vltrajadas, mentirosas y mal correctas, barajando entre ellas muchas apocrifas, y adaptandoselas a Don Lvis, para que desmereciesse por vnas el credito, que auia conseguido por otras. Al fin salieron estampadas a luz, tan sembradas de horrores y de tinieblas, que si el mismo Don Lvis resucitára, las desconociera por suyas,...

This passage was included in the introduction to Pellicer's commentary on Góngora's works entitled Lecciones solemnes a las obras de don Luis de Góngora. It appeared in 1630, only three years after the poet's death. Soon after, in 1636, the more pertinently named Ilustración y defensa de la Fábula de Píramo y Tisbe by Cristóbal de Salazar Mardones was published. This, the longest of the romances, and often simply known as "La Tisbe", was one of those denounced by Pineda for its indecency. No other romance, as far as can be known, was selected for individual commentary, but many of these shorter compositions met with high regard even from those contemptuous of Góngora's major works.

In 1634 Francisco Cascales wrote a letter to Don Francisco del Villar condemning Góngora's ambitious use of style and his obscurity in the Soledades and Polifemo, qualifying his attack with these words:[23]

> Digo, pues, confirmándome con v.m., que a ese caballero siempre le he tenido y estimado por el primer hombre y más eminente de España en la poesía, sin excepción alguna, y que es el cisne que más bien ha cantado en nuestras riberas.

(The condemnation, interestingly, is one that was to be repeated

in the nineteenth century.) Those who did not share the personal prejudices of Pineda and Jáuregui, men like Cascales, like Angulo y Pulgar and Espinosa Medrano,[24] readily admitted to Góngora's poetic greatness when he was not too obscure for them to understand. In general, throughout the seventeenth century Góngora was respected, whether one could tolerate his obscurity or not. Although Cascales claimed that:

> Por realzar la poesía castellana, ha dado con las colunas en el suelo. Y si tengo de dezir de una vez lo que siento, de príncipe de la luz se ha hecho príncipe de las tinieblas; y el que pretende con la obscuridad no ser entendido, más facilmente lo alcanzará callando

it was still commonly held that erudition was necessary in order to write and to understand poetry. Many, as Góngora had done, still adhered to the principles of poetry set out by Carillo y Sotomayor in the Libro de la erudición poética (1611):[25]

> Engañose por cierto quien entiende los trabajos de la Poesía haber nacido para el vulgo. Mas entendieron, mas intentaron, mas alcanzaron. Dígalo el Lyrico, Odi prophanum vulgus, et arceo.
> Odio el profano vulgo, y de mi aparto.

The argument for and against Góngora's poetry seems to centre upon the (very common) disagreement between all writers of the seventeenth century. Although not strictly divided into two schools, call them conceptistas and culteranistas if you will, for many authors (among them Góngora, Carillo y Sotomayor and Gracián) the Spanish language could be made to simulate Latin in poetry and become equal in beauty and erudition. For others, to mention only three critics in Jáuregui, Cascales and Faria y Sousa, neologism, latinism and obscurity were sources of

acute irritation.

By the close of the century Góngora's fame and the news of the controversies over his verse were widespread, reaching as far as the American colonies. Even there writers were prepared to give their services in his defence, as did Juan de Espinosa de los Montes Medrano from Peru in 1694 with an Apologético en favor de don Luis de Góngora contra Manuel de Faria y Sousa.

How much of Góngora's work was known in the rest of Europe does not seem to have invited study. It can be said that apart from in Spain and her colonies, including Portugal, no serious attempts were made to imitate his work. No gongorine influence can be detected elsewhere. Nevertheless his work was known to a few, one might now say privileged, foreigners, among them the Englishmen Thomas Stanley,[26] Sir Richard Fanshaw and Philip Ayres.[27] All three translated some of Góngora's poetry, Stanley being perhaps the most ambitious with an attempt on the Soledad primera in 1651. He did not complete it because of the difficulty of the task.

During the eighteenth century a scarcity of editions of Góngora's works and occasional appearances of the romances in collections give no true indication of their popularity at the time. Faithful imitations of the poetry testify to a scholarly audience throughout Europe. Early in the century (1704-17) Joseph Tafalla Negrete published a Ramillete poético containing several of the romances and 1718 saw the appearance of a continuation of the Soledades by Joseph León y Mansilla.[28] By the 1720s, however, the elaborate style of the longer compositions had come under severe attack from the neo-Classicists who now preferred a less excessive style of writing. Later

imitation of Góngora's style was confined to the more simplistic romance. For the literati of the eighteenth century Góngora's failing lay in his yielding to his own whims of style. In spite of accusing him of capriciousness they nevertheless displayed a respect for him, not shown to his, usually poor, imitators during the 1730s. As late into the century as 1737 Ignacio Luzán y Claramunt declared his dislike of all Góngora's works except the romances:[29]

> En varios lugares fustiga sus obras, sólo haciendo excepción de los romances.

Few others granted even this exception and by mid-century Góngora had become despised for his lack of moderation and 'buen gusto'.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century López de Sedano attempted to restore the romances in the Parnaso Español (1770-82) and a few romances reappeared in Ramón Fernández's Poesías (1789). Nevertheless Góngora's romances entered the nineteenth century relatively unnoticed and completely unappreciated.

Disapproval of Góngora continued into the nineteenth century. A handful of critics and poets, among them Manuel José Quintana, followed the example of Cascales, judging the romances and letrillas to be the cream of his works. In 1862 Edward Churton translated some of Góngora's poetry and wrote a rather fanciful biographical study in which he quotes (in translation) from Quintana:[30]

> in his Romances; never had anyone before written with such grace, such brilliancy, such true poetry.

Churton's own conclusion was that:

> the sonnets and the Romances, then, according to the judgement of the most judicious critics of his country, are his best poems.

Agreement with Churton as to whether Quintana was a 'judicious critic' or not rests with the individual, and is irrelevant here for I wish only to make one point. At a time when the longer works were either ignored or maligned, the romances, or as Churton defines them for his readers 'Ballads and songs for the guitar', were still attracting scant but favourable attention. Towards the end of the nineteenth century interest renewed and Raymond Foulché-Delbosc undertook the serious study of all Góngora's works, in spite of a round condemnation of their worthlessness delivered in 1884 by Menéndez y Pelayo:[31]

> Nunca se han visto juntos en una sola obra tanto absurdo y tanta insignificancia (Soledades).

The charge is a serious one. For so great a scholar to deny any greatness at all to the poet later aroused much speculation among others. Dámaso Alonso, incredulous in his reaction, goes as far as stating that Menéndez y Pelayo could never have read Góngora's poetry and understood it. It would seem, certainly, that Menéndez y Pelayo was recalling from memory the phrases from Cascales, 'Príncipe de la luz/príncipe de las tinieblas', when he referred to Góngora as 'Ángel de luz/ángel de tinieblas'. For Cascales the 'luz' to some extent redeemed the 'tinieblas', but this was not so for Menéndez y Pelayo, whose unfortunate misquotation became the more frequently remembered in recent criticism.

Ten years later Menéndez y Pelayo levelled a further charge

this time of 'nihilismo', when he said:

> Góngora llegó en su última época al nihilismo poético, a escribir versos sin idea y sin asunto, como meras manchas de color o como mera sucesión de sonidos.

Quoting this same passage in his essay 'Góngora entre sus dos centenarios' Dámaso Alonso speculates on how such a view could persist at that time, but more recently V. E. Hernández Vista has suggested that Menéndez y Pelayo may not have always felt this way about Góngora's works. In his article 'Menéndez Pelayo ante la poesía de Góngora' he suggests that before the statements given above:

> habla de Góngora en muy elogiosos términos, y no del Góngora de las letrillas, sino de las Soledades y el Polifemo

in a chronologically earlier text which came to light and in Hernández Vista's possession. It refers to the Rebolledo edition of Góngora's works in the Biblioteca de traductores españoles (volume IV, pages 142-43) and is given in full by Hernández Vista on pages 53 and 54 of his article.[32] His most important observations are that if the text is earlier than 1884:[33]

> Observará el lector por de pronto que el ataque de Menéndez Pelayo se centra en los secuaces de Góngora y no en él mismo; al revés, en el texto citado el Polifemo y las Soledades son llamadas obras maestras de la nueva escuela sin el menor asoma de ironía; las tres veces que sale el nombre de Góngora es calificado de grande, y lo que es más, definido como un poderoso taumaturgo que hace maravillas con el castellano.

The whole of the Menéndez y Pelayo text is too long to include

but the final sentence adequately indicates its content:[34]

> Por eso no sólo Góngora, grande e inimitable aún en sus extravíos, sino muchas discípulos suyos, son infinitamente más poetas que el conde de Rebolledo.

Hernández Vista's article makes one further point. If Menéndez y Pelayo did feel some liking for the works when young, this was completely dispersed by the time of writing his most influential essays on literature. The damage was done. Góngora had been denounced by a man of such great esteem that misreadings and misinterpretations of Góngora's poetry were to continue well into the twentieth century purely because disregard for Góngora had received Menéndez y Pelayo's sanction. A single example of the type of study which followed Menéndez y Pelayo's dismissal can be seen in Elisha K. Kane's Gongorism and the Golden Age. Published in 1928 it is already useless because of its over-reactionary and unscholarly approach to the works it claims to investigate.[35]

In the seventeenth century Góngora was accused by Jáuregui and Cascales of atheism because of his poesía sin alma. Menéndez y Pelayo's accusation was nihilismo poético. Both dismissals were to have severe consequences for the study and admiration of Góngora over the following fifty years. After Menéndez y Pelayo many potential readers were put off and Góngora's works were not read in schools or universities. The regaining of literary status for the poet was brought about only by the careful scholarship of some critics and the youthful enthusiasm of others. Because of Menéndez y Pelayo and his disciples Góngora criticism was thought to have arrived at its definitive state by the end of the nineteenth century. In fact it was based on a series of

unjust and excessive judgements. Vicente Gaos in 'Góngora y la historia de la crítica' explains that because of Menéndez y Pelayo's violent anathemas and Campoamor's prosaic lyricism it was necessary to go against the grain of the pedestrian and false realism which had dominated the literature of the second half of the nineteenth century.[36]

Foulché-Delbosc attempted to renovate Góngora's reputation in his edition of Góngora's works, first published in 1921. His use of the Chacón manuscript as a basis for this was to prove an important development in Góngora studies. Some decades earlier the Nicaraguan poet, Rubén Darío, was introduced to Góngora's poetry by the non-Spanish-speaking Verlaine. Darío's own poetry from then onwards reflected his acquaintance with Góngora's work, and this in its turn brought Góngora to the notice of a still younger generation of poets.

Twentieth-century Góngora studies were initiated with a new surge of intelligent European criticism from such scholars as Lucien-Paul Thomas, Teófilo Braga and Karl Vossler. Non-Spanish critics who have taken up Góngora's cause are now too numerous to list, but the most recent include Robert Jammes, Leo Spitzer, E. M. Wilson, R. O. Jones, A. A. Parker and E. Joiner Gates. Spaniards too have come to realise the worth of Góngora. The most notable scholars to begin to appreciate his work in the early years of this century were Navarro Ledesma, Ortega y Gasset, Alfonso Reyes and Miguel Artigas. Not until 1927, however, was widespread interest in Góngora rekindled. By that year a new generation of writers had emerged in Spain; all young, enthusiastic and to some extent inspired by Rubén Darío's rediscovery of Góngora, they set out to draw attention to his work as well as to themselves. Their

idea was to hold celebrations on the three-hundredth anniversary of Góngora's death. Federico García Lorca, Rafael Alberti, Pedro Salinas, Jorge Guillén, Dâmaso Alonso and Gerardo Diego all solemnly participated in numerous events including a grand commemorative funeral service, held in honour of the poet. The most thorough resumé of these events can be found in the Boletín de la Real Academia de Córdoba for 1927.[37] Nevertheless, the tri-centenary celebrations attracted less interest from both the literati and the general public than had been hoped for by its organisers, in spite of the marvellous studies which emerged under its patronage.[38] In her study of the phenomenon of Góngora's resurgence, Elsa Dehennin points out that none of the poets of that generation had any intention of forming a gongorine school. Rather, they used the anniversary as an opportunity to gather and publicise their own cause. Góngora, because he had been so misunderstood by his critics thus far, had become for them:[39]

> une sorte d'emblème: le symbole d'une poésie reniée parce que extrême difficile, essentiellement formelle et qui, pour cette raison, leur était si chère.

This new understanding and sympathy for Góngora had begun at the turn of the century with the meticulous work of Foulché-Delbosc, Thomas, Artigas and Reyes. The enthusiastic new poets for whom he was 'un Góngora imagier et musicien libre' (Dehennin) - the ideal creator - set out, each in his own style, to pay homage to Góngora and celebrate his name. New techniques of criticism and points of view were devised, and the major long-standing criticism of obscurity had to be abandoned for, as Federico García Lorca said in his important article 'La imagen

poëtica de Góngora':[40]

> ¿Qué es eso de obscuridad?
> Yo creo que peca de luminoso.

It was Dámaso Alonso who devoted himself most diligently to Góngora studies, convincing many that it was now imperative that Menéndez y Pelayo's accusation of 'nihilismo' should be opposed. For Alonso the poetry displayed 'plenitud' and 'recargamiento' rather than emptiness. In 1927 he said:[41]

> Góngora no es nuestro poeta,
> ni menos el poeta

and remained adamant in 1961 that:[42]

> nuestro entusiasmo gongorino había sido mas que nada una reacción contra la injusta proscripción del poeta y un deseo de hacerle entrar dentro del cuadro normal de los grandes valores de la literatura española.

The clarity of the poetry had finally been revealed by those who cared to seek it and the major poems have now more than regained the respect they had always deserved. Not, however, at the expense of the shorter compositions. In 1947 Ortega y Gasset emphasized that the Soledades are no more nor less intelligible than the letrillas or the romances, and the stylistic sophistication of the romances had found favour with the majority of twentieth-century gongoristas. In the Generation of 1927, admiration for the romances and letrillas was manifested in a return to shorter metres and the use of traditionally rich and symbolic imagery. Perhaps the best disciples of Góngora in this trend were Lorca and Alberti, although he was not, it should be remembered, their sole source of inspiration.

As a genre, the *romances* have been studied by J. M. Cossío[43] and Robert Jammes,[44] and individually by most Góngora scholars at some time. Wardropper, Wilson, Smith and many others have written articles on particular *romances*, and there is a corpus of favourites to which each critic returns periodically - 'La más bella niña', 'Servía en Orán al rey', 'En un pastoral albergue' and several of the mythological *romances* are the best-known. Critical opinion is that these pieces are comparably as complex as the longer works and therefore deserve an equal amount of serious literary investigation. In recent years studies of the burlesque and satirical *romances* have increased in number,[45] but there are still areas which remain relatively untouched. Only a few short articles have been published on the *romances sacros*[46] and *romances moriscos*,[47] and apart from studies of single poems there has been no overall appraisal of the *romance amoroso* as a subgenre. I hope to contribute to the latter in my study. Finally, in this chapter, I should add that the most recent edition of the *romances* is that published by Cátedra in 1982. Edited, annotated and introduced by Antonio Carreño, it is probably the most useful text available for study of the *romance* genre in Góngora's poetry.[48]

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1 III, p.90-110.

2 Romancerillos tardíos (Salamanca, Anaya, 1964).

3 F-D, I, p.vi.

4 See Appendix for a list of all publications which include romances by Góngora, compiled from F-D and J. F. Montesinos.

5 This manuscript is hereafter referred to as 'Chacón'. A fuller description of it is to be found in the introduction to the F-D edition of Góngora's works, I, p.ix and in 'Note sur trois manuscrits des oeuvres poëtiques de Góngora', RHi, 7 (1900), 454-504.

6 The introduction to the Chacón manuscript claims that Góngora himself provided the dates of the poems. His memory may have failed him in part, as certain of these dates have proved to be slightly inaccurate.

7 BRAE, 3 (1916), 17-271 and p.517, section ix.

8 B. Wardropper, 'La más bella niña', Studies in Philology, 63 (1966), 661-76.

9 José Pellicer, Vida Mayor in F-D, III, p.306.

10 1633 text, Madrid, Emprenta del Reino, misprints the title for this group as 'burlescos'.

11 F-D, II lists these figures.

12 Sonetos completos (1969), p.47-8.

13 The word 'burlesco' is not to be found in Covarrubias. See Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española (Madrid, 1611), (Madrid, Ediciones Turner, 1977), pp.246-47.

14 See note 13, pp.929-30.

15 Introduction to Letrillas (1980), p.21.

16 'La calificación del Padre Pineda'
'El padre Pineda, juez y parte'
'Se ordena la recogida del libro' in Dámaso Alonso's facsimile edition of Obras en verso del Homero español (Madrid, CSIC, 1963), pp.xxx-xli.

17 Sonnet no. XIX, p.276 of B. Ciplijauskaité edition of Sonetos completos (dated 1610).

18 Obras en verso..., p.xxxi.

19 Obras en verso..., p.xxxi.

20 Obras en verso..., p.xxxi.

21 Numbers signify those of each romance in the Carreño edition.

22 Introduction to Lecciones solemnes, 1630. In the copy I consulted no folio numbers were visible.

23 Epistola X in Cartas Philológicas (Murcia, 1634), edited by J.García Soriano, 3 vols (Madrid, Castalia, 1930-41), I, p.173ff.

24 Apologético en favor de don Luis de Góngora contra Manuel de Faria y Sousa (Lima, 1694), ed. V. García Calderón, RHi, 65 (1925), 397-538.

25 Edited by M. Cardenal Iracheta (Madrid, CSIC, 1946), p.16.

26 J. Fitzmaurice Kelly, The Relationship between Spanish and English Literature (Liverpool University Press, 1910).

27 H.Thomas, 'Three Translators of Góngora and other Spanish Poets during the Seventeenth Century', RHi, XLVIII (1918), 180-256, 311-16.
Both this and Fitzmaurice Kelly are noted by Reyes in 'Reseña de estudios gongorinos, 1913-18', RFE, V (1918), 315-336.

28 See N.Glendinning, 'La fortuna de Góngora en el siglo XVIII', RFE, 14 (1961), p.323-349.

29 In La poética, o reglas de la poesía en general y de sus

principales especies, Saragossa, 1737 (Glendinning, p.334).

30 Edward Churton, Góngora; an historical and critical essay on the times of Phillip III and IV of Spain. 2 vols (London, Murray, 1862).

31 In Historia de las ideas estéticas en España. II, p.329. See E. Diez Echarri, La poesía vista por Menéndez Pelayo (Madrid, Editora Nacional, 1956), pp.156-66.

32 RLit, 14 (1958), 44-59.

33 Hernández Vista, p.54.

34 Hernández Vista, p.54. Much of this is nevertheless an attack on Rebolledo rather than a praise of Góngora.

35 (Chapel Hill, North Carolina). A representative quotation would be:

> No sooner did he [Góngora] go to court than, under the fatigues and excitements of high society, his aesthetical rottenness broke out afresh, and the poet was marked forever by purists as the monster who had infected all the degenerate lyrists of the nation. (p.82)

36 1950 in Temas y problemas de literatura española (Madrid, Guadarrama, 1959), p.145-153.

37 Crónica del III centenario de Góngora. La organización. La celebración. La conmemoración. Las publicaciones. BRAC, 4 (1927), p.237-327.

38 For example A. Reyes, Cuestiones Gongorinos (Madrid, Espasa Calpe, 1927),

Soledades de Góngora, edited by Dámaso Alonso (Madrid, (Revista de Occidente, 1927),

See article above (note 37), p.317-327.

39 La résurgence de Góngora et la génération poétique de 1927 (Paris, 1962), p.245.

40 Federico García Lorca, 'La imagen poética de don Luis de Góngora', Residencia. Madrid, IV (1932), 94-100.

41 Dámaso Alonso, Estudios y Ensayos gongorinos. 3rd edition (Madrid, Gredos, 1970), p.113.

42 Dámaso Alonso, 'Góngora entre sus dos centenarios' in Cuatro poetas españoles (Madrid, Gredos, 1962), p.73.

43 J.M.Cossío, Romances (Madrid, Revista de Occidente, 1927).

44 See chapter on 'Le Romancero' (Troisième partie, chapitre II), in Études..., pp.375-456.

45 R.F.Ball, Góngora's parodies of literary convention, PhD thesis, 2 vols (Ann Arbor, Michigan, University Microfilms International, 1979).

46 S. Loring, La poesía religiosa en don Luis de Góngora (Cordoba, Colegio-Noviciado de San Francisco de Borja, 1961).

47 Glenroy Emmons, 'The historical and literary perspectives of the "Romances moriscos novelescos"', Hispania, California, 44 (1961), 254-59.

J. Fradejas Lebrero, 'El romancero morisco', Cuadernos de la Biblioteca Española, Tetuan, 2 (1964), 39-74.

48 This edition does suffer from a few serious mistakes which no doubt will be corrected when re-edited.

CHAPTER V

THE ROMANCES MORISCOS

The popularity of the ancient romance form brought about the birth of the romance nuevo (or artístico), romances written by professional poets, rather than born of popular culture. In the early days of the romance nuevo these poems as far as possible attempted to emulate the existing romance tradition, but as tastes became more sophisticated the style of the poems changed. New areas were seized upon or invented to be used as subject matter, and the most successful new types were the romances pastoriles and the romances moriscos. Both of these came into fashion in the late sixteenth century and continued into the seventeenth century; the romance morisco rapidly lost popularity after 1600, whilst the romance pastoril enjoyed success well into the middle of the century. R. Ball explains the major difference between the two types:[1]

> Unlike the pastoral ballad, which resulted from the novel adaptation of a Classical-Italian convention to the native meter, the Moorish ballad derives directly from the medieval motifs of the fifteenth-century romances fronterizos which, because of their historical immediacy, form one of

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> the most original of Spain's contributions to European folk balladry.

Although the popularity of the romance morisco waned more rapidly than that of the romance pastoril, nevertheless at the turn of the sixteenth century it was phenomenal. The colour and erotic undercurrents of these romances probably contributed to their popularity. Although many were miniature masterpieces, Alonso says:[2]

> son romances cultos y aún, en momentos, muy cultos, la tradición del género ha pesado, sin embargo en Góngora: son sus obras más diáfanas: romances que tienen mucho del encanto del género y mucho del arte, tan pictórico, del poeta.

Their rapid decline must have been assisted by the vast amounts of excruciatingly poor examples of the genre mass-produced by amateur rhymesters. Nevertheless, Góngora's romances moriscos have been described as some of the best of all his romances. 'joyas muy bellas de refinada perfección'.[3] The subject matter ranged over a series of related subjects: 'él del forzado que llora la separación de su esposa...él del enamorado cautivo moro...él del español de Orán, que tiene que ausentarse de su dama',[4] all, it should be noted, subjects which have love and war as the predominant themes.

The romance morisco of the late sixteenth century was often used, following the example of Lope de Vega and in common with the disfraz of the romance pastoril, as an opportunity for the poet to recount a personal anecdote or sing a love-song. The charm of this type of romance morisco often lay in its display, in descriptions of the ostentatious dress and customs of the Muslims, rather than in the sincerity of the emotion they

pretended to express. In this they were in sharp contrast to the stark origins from which they had evolved. Many of the motifs were originally found in medieval epic and chronicle and were then incorporated into the fifteenth-century romance fronterizo. The historical basis for the majority of the older romances lies in the incidents which took place on the frontiers between the Moorish and Christian kingdoms of Spain during the wars of the Reconquest. One theory is that the fronterizos were sung or narrated by those actively taking part in military campaigns, or by others bearing news of them. The romance noticiero could then be seen as an early form of journalism, one which was mostly anecdotal.[5] With the entrance of the Catholic Monarchs into Granada in 1492 the Reconquest was brought to an end and, except as part of traditional story-telling, the romance fronterizo declined.

As the popularity of the romance in noble circles increased, so the romances fronterizos were enhanced and later replaced by fictional events of a similar nature. In times of peace, stories of war perhaps grew tedious without some other element, and eventually romantic incidents were introduced to accounts which previously made no mention of love. The ferocious enemy, the Moor, softened and became a poetic stereotype in the romancero nuevo of the sixteenth century. For most Castilians the Moorish world was characterized by the stately grandeur and beauty of the palaces and gardens of Seville's Alcázar and the Alhambra of Granada, which were idealized still further in the new and consciously artistic romances. The vast majority of these, many of which were included in the Romancero general of 1600, were still narratives, rather than lyrical poems, but narratives in which detailed description was

essential.[6] Ostentation and colour, chivalry and courtly attitudes were a necessary part of this universally accepted subgenre of the romancero. Góngora began to experiment with the romance morisco in the 1580s, when it had already become as conventional and courtly in nature as other more classical or Italianate forms of poetry.

The first appearance in print of the novela El Abencerraje (Historia de Abindarráez y Jarifa) in the Corónica del ínclito Infante don Fernando, in Toledo, initiated the vogue for Moorish novels and poetry.[7] This was in 1561, although the fashion for writing in the Moorish style is thought to have begun some years before, as the licencia for the publication of the novela had been sought ten years earlier in 1551. It was to be the first in a series of novelas, of which perhaps the most famous is the Guerras civiles de Granada by Pérez de Hita. Masquerading as an historical account, the first part of the novela was published in 1595. Alongside these the romance morisco novelesco flourished in Lucas Rodríguez's Romancero historiado (1579) and the Flor de romances nuevos compiled by Pedro Moncayo (1589).

By the 1580s the character of the Moor within literature had altered substantially from that of the fronterizo Moor, leaving only one constant. Christian and Moor, in even the earliest examples of the fronterizo, preserved a mutual esteem. As early as the (reconstructed[8]) epic of the Siete Infantes de Lara, the Moor displays compassion whilst Christian's cruelty to Christian is emphasized. The introduction of chivalric values and the theme of love further encouraged a sentimental attitude toward the character of the Moor. The Moor as lover was appreciated more than the Moor who showed

prowess in battle. Stimulated by the success of El Abencerraje and its successors, poets of the later sixteenth century began to use the romance morisco as a pretext for the relation of their own romantic exploits, hiding behind the character of the sentimental Moor. Numerous examples of the 'disfraz morisco' can be found in the Romancero general. Complete ballad cycles grew up around each individual love affair, the most notorious of which are the romances of Gazul and Zaida, written during the 1580s and 1590s by Lope de Vega. As such, the new subgenre, the romance morisco, was well established by the time Góngora came to write his romances.

* * * * *

The major characteristics that have been noted for the conventional romance morisco were a tendency to idealize or sentimentalize the Moorish world, and emphasis on courtly and chivalrous values, and particular use of finely descriptive writing. The most common theme, by the time Góngora began to write his examples, was love, although the expression of it was still narrative rather than lyrical. Using these characteristics to their fullest extent, Góngora exploited them in several different ways, adhering to a strictly conventional view of the Moorish ideal in very few of his romances. 'Aquel rayo de la guerra' (number 14), written in 1584,[9] is usually read as a striking example of a conventional romance morisco.[10] María Soledad Carrasco de Urgoiti explains that 'el amor caballeresco y la galantería son el núcleo temático de la poesía morisca', and here indeed, the Moorish protagonist is described in chivalresque and colourful fashion.[11] Gallantry is emphasized as being his major virtue:

tan galán como valiente
y tan noble como fiero,
de los mozos invidiado,
admirado de los viejos,
y de los niños y el vulgo
señalado con el dedo;
el querido de las damas
por cortesano y discreto,
hijo hasta allí renegado
de la fortuna y del tiempo;
el que vistió las mezquitas
de victoriosos trofeos,
el que pobló las mazmorras
de cristianos caballeros; ll.3-16.

The pictorial and ornamental elements of the genre are fulfilled by descriptions of the Moor's clothing and his horse's harness:

l.37 sale, pues, el fuerte moro
sobre un caballo overo,
.....
con un hermoso jaez,
rica labor de Marruecos,
las piezas de filigrana,
la mochila de oro y negro.
.....
Sobre una marlota negra
un blanco albornoz se ha puesto,
por vestirse los colores
de su inocencia y su duelo... on to l.68.

From line 73 onwards the sentimentality becomes even more apparent:

Caballeros le acompañan,
y le sigue todo el pueblo,
y las damas, por do pasan,
se asoman llorando a verlo.
Lágrimas vierten ahora
de sus tristes ojos bellos
las que desde sus balcones
aguas de olor le vertieron.

This romance may have been one of Góngora's poetic exercises; an experiment in the use of conventions which he later goes on to parody. Certainly, the very composition of a basic conventional poem may have helped Góngora to judge those elements

which could most easily or effectively be reworked in burlesque fashion. Robert Jammes finds this rather extreme and eccentric, in which case the romance could be classed as a parody of the conventional type.[12] There are indeed certain details of this romance which make me uneasy about giving any approval of it as a completely conventional poem. There are none of the real signs of regard for the Christians mentioned at line 16, and there is something slightly counterfeit about the lamentations of the minor characters. The Moor's horse is described as 'gallardo' (1.45: tan gallardo iba el caballo), exactly as his rider is earlier (1.21: el gallardo Abenzulema).

Two other romances moriscos which exhibit conventional stylistic features are 'Criábase el Albanés' (number 20, 1580) and 'Famosos son el las armas' (number 28, 1590). The theme of the first of these, included under Agustín Durán's heading of romances moriscos novelescos,[13] is love. At first glance it promises to be a quite conventional example of the subgenre, demonstrating all the features of a sentimental love story incorporating gallantry and courteousness; El Albanés is:

> gran capitán en las guerras,
> gran cortesano en las paces,
> de los soldados escudo,
> espejo de los galanes; 11.13-16.

The gap between Moorish and Christian cultures and ideals is admirably narrowed by a protagonist who, although a Christian by birth, has been raised by a rich and kindly Moor. The situation is more highly idealized than any of the romances moriscos novelescos of contemporaneous anthologies. Erudite references in the poem anticipate Góngora's later (1620s) romances amorosos, for example:

si un niño ciego le vence
no más armado que en carnes,
y en el corazón le deja
dos arpones penetrantes 11.25-8.

The basis of the poem is not historical, but fictional. Nevertheless, Millé y Giménez discusses the question of which Duque de Alba might be the one referred to in the poem, finally deciding upon a Don Antonio, who would have been about twenty years of age when Góngora composed this romance.[14] The halfway point of the history of the romance morisco is marked by the poem 'Famosos son en las armas'. Fewer new examples of the subgenre were being composed by 1600, and by 1610 new examples were all but extinct. In its strictest conventional form the romance morisco spans only the twenty years between 1580 and 1600, and 'Famosos son en las armas' was written at the point of the subgenre's decline. Its romantic theme is closely associated with that of the Abencerraje.[15] Employing many of the usual features of the romance morisco, Góngora deliberately evokes the usual sentiments and reactions.

One other romance which, although it cannot strictly be called conventional, does evoke a most striking sense of all that is Moorish, is 'Ilustre ciudad famosa' (number 22) written in 1586. Its sense of rich adornment and of chivalric values places it well within the subgenre, and it displays all the notable features discussed previously. Strongly idealistic, it is a romantic evocation of the mingling of Christian and Islamic aspects of the city of Granada. Its originality lies in that the city and its grandeur are not just the setting for an event but in fact the very pretext for the poem. In spite of the freshness of the idea, the execution of the poem is inferior to many of Góngora's other romances, for, as Jammes

observes, it becomes little more than a monotonous inventory of minutely detailed items.[16] The poem can only be assigned to the border of conventional romances moriscos, along with 'Entre los sueltos caballos' (number 16), written in 1585, which, whilst its theme is love, uses more of the older conventions of the romance fronterizo.

Like several others of Góngora's romances, 'Entre los sueltos caballos' is found in various forms according to when and by whom it was published. The romance appears in the Chacón manuscript (as reproduced by Foulché-Delbosc, number 57) and consists there of seventy-two lines. This varies from the version printed by Vicuña where (following immediately after 'Servía en Orán al rey')[17] a further forty lines are attached to the end and a few minor variations occur in the first part.[18] A. E. Sloman has written on 'The two versions of "Entre los sueltos caballos"' and finds that these extra lines soften the effect of the other variant's ending, and that some of them are repetitive (for example, lines 85-88).[19] The first major question to be asked about the poem is clearly - 'Which is the correct ending?'. This is relatively easy to answer when compared with 'Servía en Orán al rey', and Sloman reproduces two excellent pieces of evidence to support his view that the shorter version is the correct one. The evidence is that Gonzalo Hoces y Córdoba printed in 1633 or 1634 a longer version which is not that found in Vicuña (1627). Some parts of the Vicuña ending are used with other new lines, and lines 69-72 of the poem are transferred to the end. This transference was also made in later versions and glosas of the romance, but in fact it upsets the whole sense and reasoning behind the romance. Nevertheless, Sloman says: 'misguided though it is,

it reveals that the famous quatrain [69-72] was generally regarded as the poem's ending'.[20] Furthermore Calderón glosses the poem in El príncipe constante (1628 - one year after the Vicuña edition). From the first seventy-two lines (those of both Chacón and Vicuña) Calderón makes use of thirty-seven lines, but takes only three more from the last forty lines (those of Vicuña). Sloman's comment is that 'assuming that he was drawing upon a written text, he appears to have stopped his gloss when the lines were no longer familiar or regarded by him to be authentic'. His final conclusion: 'the authentic version is almost certainly that of Chacón; the additional lines of the Vicuña version are of doubtful origin'.[21]

Sloman decides upon the correct version of the poem by counting lines and correlating their appearance in other versions, and this proves satisfactory here. A close study of the text does in fact support Sloman's findings, for the Vicuña ending does not reflect the sentiments of the earlier part of the romance. I hope in this study to show why I disagree with Jammes who says that 'le continuateur de Góngora,...a ajouté une fin heureuse au romance'.[22]

Jammes's statement is based on the assumption that this romance more or less reproduces the story of Abindarráez and Jarifa found in El Abencerraje.

This is acknowledged by other critics as the source for Góngora's romance, and particularly as the provider of the ending found in Vicuña.[23] This is not the only link forged with other works. Góngora's own romance 'Servía en Orán al rey' is often closely allied to the romance in question. Dámaso Alonso comments:[24]

> como se ve, es el mismo tema que Góngora aplica a un "español de Orán" y un moro que cautiva....La historia que cuenta el moro, también se parece a la que narra Abindarráez.

but López Estrada adds: 'la relación no parece que vaya más allá de que la acción se sitúa en Orán y que son Cenetes los protagonistas'.

If one is to follow Jammes's assumption that the two romances in question form part of what was to become the cycle of romances concerning 'el español de Orán', then a problem arises. In the logical sequence of such a cycle 'Servía en Orán al Rey' would precede 'Entre los sueltos caballos' - the attack to which the español goes is over, and the attackers are taken captive. In actual chronology 'Servía en Orán al rey' was the later of the two romances to be written. It was not, however, unusual for Góngora to retrace previously-used themes and ideas.[25] Menéndez Pidal explained this chronological discrepancy by postulating that the line 'aquel español de Orán' was in fact a later retouching of the poem written in 1585 to make it correspond to that of 1587. López Estrada considers this a plausible argument bearing in mind those two similarities in minor detail, but Jammes says of Menéndez Pidal:

> il faudrait bien se garder d'en conclure que cette parenté est factice, et que l'auteur a réuni artificiellement deux pièces d'inspiration différent: il semble au contraire que ces deux romances ont été conçus dans la même perspective, et que Góngora pensait bien au même personnage en les écrivant, comme le prouvent de nombreux détails.

He does not consider the possibility of a simple retouching to be correct because:[26]

> le mot Cenete se trouve à l'assonance dans le romance de 1585, le plus ancien, ce qui indique qu'il n'y a pas été introduit postérieurement.

Although Jammes knows that the two poems do in fact come from different sources he insists that the Abencerraje is the source for 'Entre los sueltos caballos'. López Estrada, by including it in his compilation of works on the Abencerraje, would appear to agree that the Vicuña ending comes from there, and Alonso warily allows that the theme is the same and the story similar to that told by Abindarráez. Although similar, it nevertheless cannot be exactly the same story, especially when the Vicuña ending is unlikely to prove authentic. Indeed, the continuer of the romance effectively uses his knowledge of Abindarráez's story to 'complete' that part of the poem which was definitely not written by Góngora. Was the continuer right to do so? Like Alonso I am inclined to be wary - the story in the first part of 'Entre los sueltos caballos' only 'se parece a'[27] that of Abindarráez, and therefore the last forty lines of the Vicuña version are a presumptuous addition.

The story of El Abencerraje runs as follows:[28]

> Rodrigo de Narváez, alcalde of Antequera and Alora decides, now that the frontiers are peaceful, that one should not become complacent about it. He sends out a band of men one night to patrol the frontiers and they set upon and eventually capture a lone Moor, Abindarráez, el Abencerraje, banished from Granada because of an event in which his ancestors were falsely incriminated. The prisoner sighs, and tells of his love for the beautiful Jarifa, with whom he was brought up side by side, thinking for many years that she was his natural sister. She has arranged for them to be secretly married and so Rodrigo sets the Moor free to do this on condition that he returns within three days to become his prisoner again. Jarifa insists on returning with him, and, having reconciled the couple with the girl's father, Rodrigo receives the ransom which frees them and, later, gifts of gratitude from Abindarráez himself.

A close reading of the first seventy-two lines of 'Entre los sueltos caballos' reveals that the poem, although it uses the same theme of the captured Moor, develops in quite a different direction. The romance begins with a quatrain which sets the scene -

> Entre los sueltos caballos
> de los vencidos Cenetes,
> que por el campo buscaban
> entre la sangre lo verde, ll.1-4.

There has been a battle here which the Zeneta have lost. Their riderless horses now wander around the battlefield in search of fodder. The battle has been so bloody that little of the grass can be seen among the remains of the dead. The tone of this first quatrain is in no way comparable to the tone of El Abencerraje. The scene is one of destruction and cruelty, the massacre of many men, whereas El Abencerraje tells us of a single man in combat with a group of enemies in which he is wounded but no-one is killed. Immediately the implications of a Moorish-Christian conflict are intensified. Amidst the carnage:

> Aquel español de Orán
> un suelto caballo prende, ll.5-6.

Who might this Spaniard be? Some have identified him with the Spaniard of 'Servía en Orán al rey' but there is neither proof of nor point to this exercise as the español is never depicted in battle. 'Aquel' could denote a reference to a famous Spaniard, and is equated by some with one of the protagonists of El Abencerraje, Rodrigo de Narváez,[29] but as we know that Rodrigo was alcalde of Antequera and Alora, both places in Spain, this does not explain why he should be termed 'el español de

Orán' which is in present-day Algeria. Apart from the retouching theory, then, the only explanation for the use of 'aquel' is as a device to imitate earlier romances, a kind of formulistic usage.[30] This might suggest that these are the further adventures of a particular hero. It does not automatically imply that Góngora had intended to write a cycle of romances on the 'soldado de Orán' but simply that he is referring to the practice of writing romance cycles.

Having selected a horse from among all those that are attempting to graze, the Spaniard mounts it. But not alone. The horse is strong and chosen:

> para que lleve a él,
> y a un moro cautivo lleve, 11.9-10.

The romance tells us:

> En el ligero caballo
> suben ambos,... 11.13-14.

The question is why, when there are many riderless horses around the battlefield (the captured Moor was after all the Captain of one hundred horsemen, lines 11-12) does the Spaniard select only one swift horse to carry two grown men? Góngora provides no clues as to why this should be.

So far nothing at all resembles the plot of El Abencerraje and, perhaps more noticeably, all motives, causes and effects have been reversed. In El Abencerraje the Moor is ambushed, a victim of Rodrigo's orders. Here, if it is to be understood that this is the same skirmish as the one about to begin in 'Servía en Orán al rey', then the roles are reversed. The Zeneta made the attack, so instead of being an innocent victim of fate, the Moor of Góngora's romance is the vanquished

antagonist, whose attack on the Christians has proved unsuccessful. The horse, in spite of its heavy burden moves as though 'cuatro alas le mueven', but only because it is by 'cuatro espuelas herido' (lines 15-16). The order of the lines is important; it conveys the reluctance of the horse to move under its burden unless goaded. There is no precedent for this strange situation in El Abencerraje where Rodrigo 'le hizo subir [the Moor] en un caballo de un escudero, porque el suyo estaba herido'.[31]

It is at this stage that the 'reminiscences' of El Abencerraje appear in Góngora's romance. Abindarráez's horse is wounded so he must use another, but the Moor here, once at the head of one hundred horsemen must suffer the humiliation of riding behind a Christian on a horse which is also 'herido', this time by their spurs. Rodrigo studies the face of Abindarráez well as they ride along and his feelings are:[32]

> que tan gran tristeza en ánimo tan fuerte
> no podía proceder de sola la causa que
> allí parescía.

It is a simple matter for him to watch Abindarráez's demeanour from his own horse, yet for the español of Góngora's poem this process is more complicated:

> Admirado el español
> de ver cada vez que le vuelve
> que tan tiernamente llore
> quien tan duramente hiere, 11.21-24.

He has to keep turning around to look at the Moor who is seated behind him. The picture which emerges is rather absurd - two grown men on a small horse, one who has to crane his head round to look at the other who sits crying like a baby. The differences are again apparent between the two tales. Abindarráez

does not weep; he sighs and mutters to himself, but this is enough to make Rodrigo realize that something troubles his soul. The español, however, only perceives these tears in the way that he sees the wounds the Moor has dealt to others: they are outward, physical signs, and therefore he does not understand their deeper meaning. He asks if he might know why the Moor weeps, as politely as he can:

> con razones le pregunta,
> comedidas y corteses,
> de suspiros la causa,
> si la causa lo consiente. 11.25-28

but he does not offer to try to put the Moor's grief to rights. Rodrigo is, on the other hand, considerate and anxious to alleviate any suffering:[33]

> paresce flaqueza que quien hasta aquí ha dado tan buena muestra de su esfuerzo, la dé ahora tan mala. Si sospiráis del dolor de las llagas, a lugar vais do seréis bien curado. Si os duele la prisión, jornadas son de guerra a que están subjectos cuantos la siguen. Y si tenéis otro dolor secreto, fialde de mí, que yo os promete como hijodalgo de hacer por remediarle lo que en mí fuere.

It is at this point in the story, now that the bonds of courtesy and friendship have been extended that Rodrigo and Abindarráez exchange identities. Góngora's characters quite simply do not. They remain anonymous to us and to one another in spite of all the things they do say. 'El cautivo' remains 'el cautivo' even though he tells the español:

> En los Gelves nací, el año
> que os perdistes en los Gelves,
> de una berberisca noble
> y de un turco matasiete.

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> que os perdistes en los Gelves,
> de una berberisca noble
> y de un turco matasiete.

En Tremecén me crié
con mi madre y mis parientes
después que perdí a mi padre,
corsario de tres bajeles. ll.41-48.

From these lines both a little and a great deal are learnt at once. Spain lost Gelves (or Jerba) to the Moors in 1560; this would make the Moor about twenty-five years old. The Moor's parents were a 'noble' Berberess and a Turk. This is an odd combination. Taking into account that the Berbers were a North African tribe who had been granted citizenship in Granada at this time, a clue is provided to suggest that the woman's nobility is not all that it might be.

In 1570 Philip II dispersed the moriscos, generally poor and harmless people, from Granada throughout Castile. However, the Berbers, as Granadan citizens, were allowed to remain in the city. Because of this many other North African peoples began to claim that they were Berbers in order to remain where they were and to gain equal privileges. They were not nuevos cristianos either and so were not subject to the same sanctions as the converted moriscos. It would be to any Moor or Moorish woman's advantage to claim to be Berber, however dishonestly.

The Moor's father is a Turk, a saracen, the infidel who had to be prevented from taking over all the Christian and Mediterranean coastal lands. Not only that, he is a pirate, the terror of the seas to the Spanish and Christian fleets in general. The Moor's parents represent the two major threats to both Spain as a nation and to Christianity as a religion; one internal danger and one external; and the romance was written at a time when the morisco problem was far from settled.[34]

The Moor's lineage is doubtful. He appears not to have lived with his father at all, who as a roving pirate commanded

three ships. The further implication is of course that, with a rover and a looter for a father, the Moor is in fact a bastard child. Born outside of matrimony to parents such as these, the Moor would be the ultimate symbolic threat to Roman Catholicism. The very disclosure of his parentage to the español stands as a massive insult, literally hurled in the face of the español who turns to look at him.

One begins to wonder exactly what Góngora is up to here. Tradition had it, even as far back as the first romances fronterizos, that the Moor and the Christian were not enemies on a personal level. A sentimental view of the Moor was the most common one. In fact, almost all romances moriscos novelescos are pro-Moorish. Yet here the Moor's answer to a simple question, which ought to be just a polite statement of his name, is a deliberate confrontation with the Christian. Twice so far the Moor has, in this romance, been the aggressor. Furthermore, I think that Góngora is saying something about the style of morisco literature in general. The Moor here talks of his ancestry at great length and in some detail, yet at the end of his speech, we still do not know who he is. The details he has given are for the most part irrelevant and unnecessary for our understanding of the plot. The same kind of thing appears in El Abencerraje:

> A mí llaman Abindarráez el mozo, a diferencia de un tío mío, hermano de mi padre, que tiene el mismo nombre.

When Rodrigo asks the Moor's name he is also provided with some irrelevant detail. There is a little more relevant material: 'soy de los Abencerrajes de Granada, de los cuales muchas veces habrás oído decir;' - and just in case Rodrigo had not heard:

'y aunque me bastaba la lástima presente sin acordar las pesadas, todavía te quiero contar esto...' - and so it goes on for a further five hundred words.[35]

Góngora, like the writer of El Abencerraje, uses specificity and fine detail, but not for decorative purposes. He uses this detail instead to reveal the long-winded manner of other writers. He imitates the practice of courtesies and exchanges in the first part of the Moor's reply:

> "Valiente eres, capitán,
> y cortés como valiente:
> por tu espada y tu trato
> me has cautivado dos veces.
> Preguntado me has la causa
> de mis suspiros ardientes,
> y débote la respuesta
> por quien soy y por quien eres". 11.33-40.

I think the key to these lines is line 40, for at this point in the poem (over halfway through the Chacón version) it is not known who either of the men are. Nor is anyone the wiser at the end of the romance; they remain as 'un moro...capitán de cien jinetes' and 'aquel español de Orán'. El Abencerraje lays a great deal of emphasis on names, lineage and reputation, and Góngora mocks this with his line 'por quien soy y por quien eres', for he leaves his characters as anonymous figures. The Moor's courteous speech is also surprising. He has been captured, he says, not just by force ('tu espada') but also captivated by 'tu trato'. This can be little else but idle flattery, for the español has simply forced the Moor onto the back end of a horse and asked him why he is blubbering. In contrast, Abindarráez says 'gran noticia tengo de vuestra virtud y expiriencia [sic] de vuestro esfuerzo', because he has just learnt that he is in the hands of a renowned, honest and just man. To be brief, the

difference lies in that the Moor of Gongora's romance does not really owe anything to his captor, whilst the courtesy and concern of Rodrigo earn him the right to be the confidant of Abindarráez. The courtesies and insistence in good birthrights and reputation of the romance morisco are revealed for what they are, shallow and unnecessary, by Góngora.

It so happens in El Abencerraje that the cause of Abindarráez's sadness is not so much his capture but that he is prevented from keeping his tryst with Jarifa. In explaining this to Rodrigo he tells how their love grew. In order that we may compare this with the love-story of Góngora's Moor I shall reproduce it here:

> Yo salí al mundo del vientre de mi madre, y por cumplir mi padre el mandamiento de Rey, enviómе a Cártama al alcaide que en ella estaba, con quien tenía estrecha amistad. Este tenía una hija, casi de mi edad, a quien amaba más que a sí, porque allende de ser sola y hermosísima, le costó la mujer, que murió de su parto. Esta y yo en nuestra niñez siempre nos tuvimos por hermanos porque así nos oíamos llamar. Nunca me acuerdo haber pasado hora que no estuviésemos juntos. Juntos nos criaron, juntos andábamos, juntos comíamos y bebíamos. Nasciónos de esta conformidad un natural amor, que fue siempre creciendo con nuestras edades.[36]

Jarifa is beautiful, gentle, good and kind, as will be seen in later passages of El Abencerraje, and it is little wonder that Abindarráez should be so much in love with her. It is this love affair that seems to form a further basis for claims that Góngora's romance is taken from El Abencerraje. Let us look at his Moor's words:

> Junto a mi casa vivía,
> porque más cerca muriese,
> una dama del linaje
> de los nobles Melioneses,[37] 11.49-52
> .....

Juntos así nos criamos,
y Amor en nuestras niñeces
hirió nuestros corazones
con arpones diferentes. ll.61-64.

It easy to find linguistic parallels here. Góngora uses the word juntos to emphasize the proximity of the couple, echoing that of El Abencerraje, yet the Moor and the Melionesa are not as close as Abindarráez and Jarifa, and consequently the effects of being brought up side by side is different. Abindarráez and Jarifa, raised as brother and sister ('juntos nos criaron'), develop a natural love for one another, an easy mutual affection which matures ('que fue siempre creciendo con nuestras edades'). Conversely, the Moor and girl of Góngora's poem were the boy and girl next door ('juntos así nos criamos') who developed nothing more than the fairly usual love-hate relationship between boys and girls of the same age. Their love is not unusual and does not grow in the way of that of the other couple.

Abindarráez and Jarifa's love can be accepted without question because of the deep respect and awe of Jarifa's beauty shown by Abindarráez. There is a touching frankness in his descriptions of her effect on him:[38]

Parescióme en aquel punto más hermosa que
Venus cuando salió al juicio del manzana.
...Víla en las aguas de la fuente al propio
como ella era, de suerte que donde quiera
que volvía la cabeza, hallaba su imagen,
y en mis entrañas, la más verdadera.

It is difficult to accept the claims of love made by the Moor in Góngora's poem. His attitude towards the girl does not harmonize with his declaration of love for her. He first describes her as:

extremo de las hermosas,
cuando no de las crueles, ll.53-54.

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Her beauty is unsurpassed except by her cruelty; 'cuando no' suggests that she is most often too cruel to let her beauty radiate through. This is often the case when a lover feels his mistress's disdain, but how often is the mistress referred to as:

> hija al fin de estas arenas,
> engendradoras de sierpes. 11.55-56?

'Hija de estas arenas' implies that this land is her true home, yet the land itself, these very sands, are 'engendradoras de sierpes'. If this is so, as she is their daughter, it would seem that the Moor is suggesting that she is a 'sierpe'. The ideas associated with serpents are many; we cannot help but connote serpents with temptation and evil and all its figurative values. Alemany y Selfa lists a figurative usage of 'sierpe' (p.894) to denote a 'mujer desdeñosa y cruel'. The Diccionario de Autoridades also gives two usages; firstly - 'se toma...por la persona que está mui colérica', and more interestingly (in the light of the Moor's claim for the girl's beauty here) 'por alusión se toma por la muger mui fea' (vol III, p.109).

If the Moor shows so little respect for the girl, how, then, is the following quatrain to be interpreted?:

> Cada vez que la miraba
> salía un sol por su frente,
> de tantos rayos ceñido
> cuantos cabellos contiene. 11.57-60.

The Moor's attitude towards the girl is totally inconsistent. One moment he complains about her, the next he admires, freely combining courtly and Petrarchan compliment with baseness and evil. This ambivalent attitude is not consistent with the stereotypic sentimental Moor who is always gallant.

The actions of the stereotype are, therefore, solidly predictable. Góngora intends that this Moor should not be regarded in the same light. His behaviour cannot be predicted and be trusted, for in spite of his show of courtesy, he rudely insults the español and is bitter about the way in which he has been scorned by a woman. He has spent half his life trying to capture her in the 'dulces lazos, tiernas redes' of his desire for her, whilst she has eluded his grasp and remained free from any ties. The idea of the prisoner of love here, of course, reinforces the theme of captivity. The Moor is physically bound by the español, not by his love for the girl, yet the spiritual bonds of love, ironically give him more pain. Inextricably linked to this are ideas on 'libertad', not just freedom to go where one pleases and do as one wishes, but here mentioned because for the girl 'libertades' and 'desdenes' are part of the war of love.[39] The Moor's bitterness towards her may in part stem from her having given her favours to others, but not to him. Suddenly, with no apparent warning, the Moor tells us that she changed her mind (a woman's prerogative), softening towards the Moor's advances. Yet he remains bitter and wary towards her:

> Apenas vide trocada
> la dureza de esta sierpe,
> cuando tú me caustivaste:
> ¡mira si es bien que lamente! 11.69-72.

He still regards her as a snake even though his luck with her has changed. However, no explanation is given as to why the girl has changed her mind. One is tempted to ask whether she really has or whether the Moor is attempting to get the español to repeat the actions of Rodrigo de Narváez by suggesting an

analogy between his situation and that of Abindarráez? This Moor is certainly crafty enough to think up a ruse like this, and the very words he uses in this 'final' quatrain are an indication that this is a direct reference to El Abencerraje. It is the change itself which is out of place - notice that the girl is 'trocada'. El Abencerraje contains the following passage:[40]

> Mírela vencido de su hermosura, y parescióme a Sálmacis, y dije entre mí: '¡Oh, quien fuera Troco para parescer ante esta hermosa diosa!'

López Estrada provides an extensive note to this,[41] and the implications for Góngora's poem are that, as the girl is 'trocada' it is she, not the Moor, who now wishes for them to become united as in the tale of Salmacis and Hermaphrodite. The change is inexplicable, but provides a parallel with El Abencerraje where it is Jarifa who arranges for them to be married:[42]

> Quiso mi ventura que esta mañana mi señora me cumplió su palabra enviándome a llamar con una criada suya, de quien se fiaba, porque su padre era partido para Granada, llamado del Rey, para volver luego...iba a llamado de mi señora, a ver a mi señora, a gozar de mi señora y a casarme conmi señora. Véome ahora herido, captivo y vencido....

In both cases it is ironic that the relationship is about to be consummated when fate steps in and the Moors are taken prisoner. Abindarráez's reaction is:

> Así que considera tú ahora en el fin de mis palabras el bien que perdí y el mal que tengo...

and that of Góngora's Moor similar:

¡mira si es bien que lamente!

This comment concludes that part of the romance which is known for certain to have been written by Góngora, and which gives a rather different view of the relationship between this Moor, his lady and his captor, to that found in El Abencerraje. Here the 'continuer' takes over the story. The source is obviously El Abencerraje and the sense of the new lines, taken directly from that work, undermines the characters set up by the first part of the romance. The two parts of the romance are, therefore, incompatible. Lines 73-76 do little more than round off the Moor's speech,[43] whilst the following quatrain simply introduces the speech of the español. He is referred to here by the narrator/continuer as 'el capitán'. The narrator of the first part did not reveal the status of the español, and I suspect that the Moor's use of this form of address in line 33 was likely to be a means of flattery rather than a fact. Line 80, as it is reproduced here, does not make good sense, and Hoces's version gives a clearer sense with the line: 'que paren sus males quiere'. At any rate the español speaks:

> Gallardo Moro, le dice,
> si adoras como refieres,
> y si como dices amas,
> dichosamente padeces.

This is utter nonsense as a comment on the 'love affair' described earlier by the Moor. Rodrigo de Narváez could well congratulate Abindarráez on his good fortune in loving the beautiful Jarifa, but this capitán could not seriously consider a man in love with an ugly and disdainful girl a lucky person.

Likewise, the next quatrain, lines 85-88, follows the story of El Abencerraje more closely than the beginning of the

romance:

> ¿Quién pudiera imaginar,
> viendo tus golpes crueles,
> cupiera un alma tan tierna
> en pecho tan duro y fuerte?

These lines are almost a repetition of lines 23 and 24, and in fact it has been seen that in reality the Moor is ruthless and hard-hearted, and not in the least bit tender towards the girl. The decision of the español to release his captive because he is a true lover is therefore absurd. The only explanation that I can possibly see for it, if Góngora had written the lines, is that he is presenting us with a picture of a 'generous' Christian. The español would, like the Moor, know the tale of Abindarráez and Jarifa and would also know that he can increase his fame by releasing the Moor:

> ganas más con librarme
> que ganaste con prenderme. 11.107-08.

In order to eclipse even Rodrigo, he intends to release the Moor without imposing conditions on him. He must of course return to see him, but not to be recaptured:[44]

> Anda con Dios, sufre y ama,
> y vivirás, si lo hicieres,
> con tal que cuando la veas
> hayas de volver a verme. 11.97-100.

Apart from this odd request, the español requires no other repayment from the Moor or his lady:[45]

> Y no quiero por rescate
> que tu dama me presente
> ni las alfombras más finas
> ni las granas más alegres. 11.93-96.

The español dismounts from the horse and the Moor follows,

romance:

> ¿Quién pudiera imaginar,
> viendo tus golpes crueles,
> cupiera un alma tan tierna
> en pecho tan duro y fuerte?

These lines are almost a repetition of lines 23 and 24, and in fact it has been seen that in reality the Moor is ruthless and hard-hearted, and not in the least bit tender towards the girl. The decision of the español to release his captive because he is a true lover is therefore absurd. The only explanation that I can possibly see for it, if Góngora had written the lines, is that he is presenting us with a picture of a 'generous' Christian. The español would, like the Moor, know the tale of Abindarráez and Jarifa and would also know that he can increase his fame by releasing the Moor:

> ganas más con librarme
> que ganaste con prenderme. ll.107-08.

In order to eclipse even Rodrigo, he intends to release the Moor without imposing conditions on him. He must of course return to see him, but not to be recaptured:[44]

> Anda con Dios, sufre y ama,
> y vivirás, si lo hicieres,
> con tal que cuando la veas
> hayas de volver a verme. ll.97-100.

Apart from this odd request, the español requires no other repayment from the Moor or his lady:[45]

> Y no quiero por rescate
> que tu dama me presente
> ni las alfombras más finas
> ni las granas más alegres. ll.93-96.

The español dismounts from the horse and the Moor follows,

throwing himself at the feet of the español to thank him for his release:

> Alah se quede contigo,
> y te dé victoria siempre
> para que extiendas tu fama
> con hechos tan excelentes. ll.109-112.

Once again it is difficult to accept this final quatrain as a genuine act of gratitude on the terms of the earlier part of the romance, unless it is once again viewed ironically. It is obvious that the scheming Moor, having engineered his own release, will now wish that the same thing will happen to others of his race. The 'hechos tan excelentes' were really a foolish move; no ransom has been gained and no other satisfaction. The Moor can go on his way gloating at his own cleverness and the naivety of the Christian who, unfortunately, has not even become famous through this action. How could he when he has not yet identified himself?

The ending of the poem can be observed in two ways. If the words are taken at their face value, the continuer has indeed completed the tale 'de forma que se corresponde con el episodio inicial del Abencerraje',[46] even though this renders it incompatible with the stance of the narrator in the earlier part of the romance. In which case it is, as Sloman says, an addition not of Góngora's hand. If on the other hand the ending is viewed ironically, the continuer can be said to have made a fairly successful job of it again. One is left with the feeling that the español has been proved a fool, probably as Góngora would have wished, but the character portrayals are somewhat diminished and the poem loses some of its force by being too complete. The malign side of the Moor seems to fade

into the background, although the stupidity and incredulity of the Christian remains. Nevertheless, the actual construction of the ending is not as linguistically and thematically tight as the beginning of the romance. Far too many of the lines appear to just fill in the gaps without even a hint of authorial comment. This does not behave like the work of Góngora, and because of the alteration in perspective, I still sense that Sloman is correct in dismissing this as the ending. If, however, the romance ends at line 72, it still appears to be incomplete. The only statement Góngora appears to make is that the sentimental view of the Moor is for him fictitious and outdated. Although the poem could not be described as anti-Moorish, the less desirable side of the Moor's character is the most apparent. He deliberately links his fictional character to the historical facts of a religious and political struggle. If Góngora did intend to close the romance with the captive's release, he was perhaps suggesting that, by expelling the Moors, Spain had allowed many of its resources to dissolve for the sake of dubious honour and reputation. As the romance stands it is a reflection on the romantic view of Moorish and Christian relationships, which reverses all the traditions and trends, and upsets the sentimental apple-cart of other writers of romances moriscos novelescos.[47]

* * * * *

From the romance discussed above it can be seen that Góngora not only experimented in conventional morisco style but was also inclined to question its patterns and attitudes. Even early in his poetic career he was not satisfied with simple imitation of the models of his predecessors and contemporaries. Ball discusses this in his article 'Imitación y

parodia en la poesía de Góngora',[48] explaining that, at a time when poetic rivalries were increasing, the repetition of a model was insufficient. The model must instead be surpassed or replaced, and in doing this Góngora radically changed the concept of imitation. He may be considered, says Ball, to be the precursor of "originality". For Góngora imitation was always associated with parody, and some of his early attempts at imitation are extremely perspicacious criticisms of other poets. For example, the romance number 18, 'Ensíllenme el asno rucio' (1585), of which Ball makes a thorough study in his doctoral thesis, Góngora's parodies of literary convention. He calls it a "primitive" type of parody:[49]

> The parodistic text asserts the negativity of its own origins more openly than any other text, since it can only be read as the outcome of a polemical dialogue with another text (or textual configuration) which it both embeds and disfigures.

The romance is a line for line travesty of Lope de Vega's 'Ensíllenme el potro rucio' in which Lope adopts the 'disfraz morisco' in order to relate an event in his love affair with Elena Osorio.[50] Góngora, aware of the fallibility of the disguise which he never adopts for himself, mocks Lope's naivety. His clear intention is to ridicule Lope's sentimentality and he does this by the highly skilful parodic use of all the conventions of morisco poetry. The entire method and the ideals of Lope's poem are blatantly undermined by this parody. Yet Góngora is not content to stop there. Millé y Giménez notices that number 21, 'Triste pisa y afligido', is a parody of Lope's 'Desde un alto mirador',[51] although recent criticism suggests that Millé y Giménez perhaps attempted to forge too many links

between the works of the two poets on insufficient evidence.[52]

Once again, Ball has studied this romance thoroughly in his thesis. The poem mocks the sentimental Moorish lover. It is a "systemic parody",[53] aimed at the genre in general, whilst Góngora simultaneously mocks his own attempts at re-creation of the romance morisco. 'Aquel rayo de la guerra' revealed a tendency to exaggerate which was unconvincing as a measure of the poet's sincerity. Here the parody is used to 'vilify the genre as such once and for all and "atone" as well for his contribution to its widespread popularity'.[54] This is a very self-conscious work, again making use of all the conventional devices, although the method of parody is totally different to that of number 18. Góngora creates a Moorish romance and deconstructs it simultaneously. The first quatrain feigns sobriety in its intentions as the mise en scène of the whole poem:

> Triste pisa y afligido
> las arenas de Pisuerga
> el ausente de su dama,
> el desdichado Zulema, ll.1-4.

The second quatrain immediately destroys the expected image of Zulema, by introducing clichés along with physical description:

> Moro alcaide, y no vellido,
> amador con ajaqueca,
> arrocinado de cara
> y carigordo de piernas. ll.5-8.

The romance continues along these lines; a 'serious' quatrain is parodied by the one that follows it, forming a kind of conventional romance morisco with its own inbuilt burlesque gloss. However, the serious or model half of the romance could not

exist without the burlesque half. It would be impossible for it to stand alone, and in fact by the end of the romance, even the serious model has regressed to self-parody. It can no longer be taken seriously as a model because the parodic half has totally undermined its credibility. The denunciation of the genre is complete when the poem inevitably deteriorates into scatological jokes.

By 1585, then, Góngora had already destroyed the credibility of the romance morisco. It might be pertinent to ask, therefore, why he should have continued to compose romances within that subgenre. In the following year 'Ilustre ciudad famosa' was produced betraying a different motive for use of the morisco tradition, and four years later, in 1590, 'Famosos son en las armas', another of Góngora's less significant compositions, was written. Yet there are four more romances - 'Levantando blanca espuma', 'Según vuelan por el agua', 'En la fuerza de Almería' and 'Por las faldas del Atlante' - which employ Moorish themes in even later years. None of these can be classed as conventional romances moriscos as two are highly erudite and the other two occupy an even smaller subcategory, the romances de cautivos.

* * * * *

Much confusion exists over the definition of romances de cautivos, especially when considering them as a group separated from the other romances of African theme or subject matter. Many scholars of Góngora never use the difinition; to Robert Jammes, Dámaso Alonso and María Soledad Carrasco de Urgoiti all the romances I am about to discuss are classifiable simply as moriscos or African romances. Carmen Vega Carney agrees with Jammes on the point that they are all 'africaine' but

also with Menéndez Pidal who feels that there are two distinct types within Góngora's African romances. They can be subdivided into moriscos, displaying all the characteristics I have previously mentioned, or into romances de cautivos where the protagonist is usually a Christian Spaniard (not a Moor) who has been taken prisoner.

Luis Rosales describes the Moor of the romances moriscos in general as a literary pretext rather than a real enemy. However, in this subcategory he does appear in the role of the enemy for the sake of this literary game. He divides the romances in this subcategory into two types; the romances of persecution like 'Levantando blanca espuma', in which the theme of love softens the epic tone of the poem; and romances of captivity like 'Amarrado al duro banco' of which:[55]

> algunas...son una de las más profundas y acabadas realizaciones poéticas de nuestro romancero. La melancolía del destierro y la elegíaca añoranza de la patria perdida no debilitan y envaguecen....

Rosales describes the matter of the subcategory as follows:[56]

> Las incursiones y algaras de los turcos, berberiscos o levantes, en la costa española para depredar y galimar; la persecución y apresamiento de las galeras, a veces junto al puerto, por las galeras turcas, bien empalmadas y marineras, construidas generalmente por los renegados en los tarazanales de Sargel, y, sobre todo la angustia mortal de los millares de cautivos con que sustituían cómitres y arraeces el flojo esfuerza de bagarines y asalariados, fueron los temas principales y reiterados de los nuevos romances: los romances fronterizos del mar.

For Ramón Menéndez Pidal, as for Rosales, the romance de cautivos or forzados opposes the romance fronterizo, 'siendo antítesis

de los romances moriscos, desechan la brillantez y colorido de éstos para tomar el tono realista y sobrio que les convenía'.[57]

The two main motifs here are the sea and liberty, and it is indeed a sense of realism that sets them apart from the conventional romance morisco. They are not as colourful nor as ornamental as the other subcategory (although they include some necessary descriptive passages) and they tend towards more lyrical forms of expression. In spite of this, they have a greater concern for historical fact, or at least the semblance of it. Their realism and lyricism is a more subtle and skilful denunciation of the conventions than any parody could be. However, all this may suggest that, because of their subtlety, they emerged later in Góngora's work as an advanced method of undermining the romance morisco. Nevertheless, not all of the romances de cautivos are late examples.

Góngora's two earliest African romances were 'Amarrado al duro banco' and 'La desgracia del forzado', both written in 1583 and both of which concentrate on the story of a Christian captive, condemned to the Turkish galleys. The theme of the captive was already established as a literary motif (according to George Camamis it was in its most stereotyped form between 1545 and 1585) and Góngora was therefore writing well within a tradition. The theme itself was strongly influenced by the Byzantine novel, a form 'con poquísimas concesiones a las verdaderas experiencias de cautiverio que los españoles iban sufriendo con ritmo acelerado a medida que avanzaba el siglo XVI'.[58] The best early examples of this form can be found in Lope de Rueda's Comedia Armelina (1545) where a girl is taken, sold as a slave and found years later by her parents, and the anonymous

Comedia llamada de los cautivos (mid-sixteenth century) where two runaway lovers are taken captive. Nevertheless the ending is a happy one. Later this story-line is frequently used by the 'culto' writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Lope de Vega, Cervantes and Calderón to give but three examples) but still the Byzantine form, with its happy ending, persisted.[59]

In the sixteenth century this must have been an exceptionally romantic view of the whole concept of 'el cautiverio' for, although remote from us, the chances of being kidnapped by Berber pirates and sold as a slave were great if one lived on the South coast of Spain. The threat was so great that beacon towers were built along the coast from Gibraltar to the border of Granada province at the end of the sixteenth century, to warn of the approach of pirate vessels. The incidence of kidnapping and slave-trading was much higher than one might at first imagine:[60]

> Bernadine de San Antonio...a contemporary of Góngora's, has given us a summary account of the number of [rescue] expeditions undertaken by the brotherhood up to the year 1625, and the aggregate of released captives, as far as they could be ascertained. The general redemptions, as he calls them, had been 1,341; the number of persons accounted for, of different qualities, age, and sex, was near to 200,000. But of very many of these expeditions no particulars were preserved; and many ransoms were probably effected in other ways, and by more private treaties. Add to this the number of those who died unransomed, and those who were carried off... to hopeless slavery at Constantinople, or other places in the Turkish dominions. And reckon also those whom we know to have been rescued in war....It is impossible to calculate the myriads of victims, during so long a period of years in this barbarian warfare.

Churton records how in Góngora's lifetime the practice was at

its height, so it is no small wonder that this was a popular literary theme.

Góngora's two romances differ sharply from the many Byzantine novelas and comedias of the time because they leave no hope of a happy ending. 'Lo que tenemos aquí' - says Camamis - 'es la triste realidad de una literatura que ponía los ojos en las costas berberiscas o en el temor a los piratas'.[61] They appear to be part of a growing number of romances nuevos which were beginning to appear treating the subject on a more realistic basis[62] and in almost all of which: 'lo que predomina como una idea fija, es el ansia de la libertad que, según Cervantes, "es uno de los más preciosos dones que a los hombres dieron los cielos"'.[63] It is the realism of these two romances which most impresses Robert Jammes too: 'Le mot "réalisme" serait beaucoup plus indiqué pour parler des deux romances du forçat de Dragut...la dure réalité de la guerre permanente qui apposait sur mer Espagnols et Barbaresques',[64] (their popularity seems to have initiated a cycle of romances nuevos on the same lines) and which forces Vega Carney to set them apart from the romances moriscos in general.

The argument is the same in both of the romances: a Christian galley-slave laments that he cannot be in his homeland with his wife. When Christian ships are sighted on the horizon he is forced to row in order to escape them, whilst he knows that they wish to free him from his misery. Góngora gives the story a slightly different treatment in each romance. 'Amarrado al duro banco' begins in media res, and this, along with its terse and rapid style, and the truncated ending, gives the romance a traditional feel. The use of a paired formula enhances this:

ambas manos en el remo
y ambas ojos en la tierra, 11.3-4.

The forzado is a slave belonging to the Turkish pirate Dragut, an historical figure who lived just over twenty-three years before the poem was written. Although Dragut is not named in the second romance, most critics have assumed that the captive there is nevertheless the same one.[65] Two introductory quatrains expertly outline the forzado's situation before he is made to speak. The sea appears to have assumed an almost religious significance for him as he still regards it as the Spanish sea. Although calm, it has been the scene of hundreds of naval battles. Góngora uses some obvious word-play here in a clever little conceit: the 'theatre' of war is the place where 'tragedies' are acted out:

¡...teatro donde se han hecho
cien mil navales tragedias!, 11.11-12.

This warlike sea is also that which amorously laps the shores and walls of his splendid homeland. The Spaniard's pride in his country's cities 'coronadas y soberbias' is apparent, yet I think that there is also a sense of the Moorishness of that Southern region of Spain. The high tides of the sea kiss the ramparts 'con tus crecientes besas', but this sea, from the other side, is also Moorish. Lunas crecientes are the symbol of Islam and I think this serves to remind us that the Moslems too have an affection for those 'murallas' of the Spanish cities, many of which they themselves built.

The captive exhorts the sea to bring him news of his wife. This is an important detail; most laments in poetry are for the lover's absence from his beloved, or his mistress, but the

mention of the 'esposa' adds a particular relationship rarely found in lyric poetry. Góngora himself uses the husband/wife relationship in 'La más bella niña', there again to enlist a particular sense of poignancy. The next few lines are somewhat puzzling:

> y dime si han sido ciertas
> las lágrimas y suspiros
> que me dice por sus letras, ll.17-20.

Even if he may have cause to doubt the sincerity of her letters, I can find no reference at all to the way in which communication was maintained between captives and their families. No history book which I have consulted mentions whether slaves were permitted to contact their relatives or vice-versa, and the question still remains, even if they were, how does one get a letter to a sea-borne Turkish galley? However, for the purposes of this poem, we have to accept that written communication was possible, and that the captive has not heard from his wife for some time. His doubts that she may no longer be weeping for him are addressed to the sea:

> porque si es verdad que llora
> mi cautiverio en tu arena,
> bien puedes al mar del Sur
> vencer en lucientes perlas. ll.21-24.

Pearls were often used as a metaphor for tears by Góngora and other learned poets.[65a] Here the metaphor is highly appropriate because of the maritime context. Pearls, formed around grains of sand in nature, are formed in this sea by her tears (perlas) dropping onto sand. Her tears, then, perhaps even more precious than pearls to her husband, are so abundant that they enrich the Spanish sea until it is greater than the Pacific Ocean.

Two ideas run parallel; the pearls make the Spanish sea greater in richness, whilst the tears swell the sea to a greater volume of water.

The captive is impatient for an answer to his plea for news of his wife:

> Dame ya, sagrado mar,
> a mis demandas respuesta,
> que bien puedes, si es verdad
> que las aguas tienen lengua, 11.25-28.

The captive is torn here between certainties and uncertainties. 'Si es verdad' appears twice (lines 21 and 27). The first time the doubt is that his wife may not still be weeping. The doubt is dispelled by a certainty; if she is weeping then the sea will be well and truly richer than the Pacific; 'bien puedes al mar del Sur vencer'. In the second usage, the sea can easily give him a reply he says: 'Dame ya...respuesta...que bien puedes...' but only if it is true (si es verdad) that water has a tongue. This however is a myth. Waters may be able to lap the shores of a country, but they have no tongue for other types of communication. The doubt this time remains and is reinforced because the captive receives no reply. The doubts about his wife's continuing lament are chanelled into a further worry - that she may no longer be alive:

> pero, pues no me respondes,
> sin duda alguna que es muerta, 11.29-30.

'Sin duda alguna' leaves him no hope at all so he must modify his thoughts here. In order that he might survive his ordeal he must believe that the death of his wife must also be a myth. Furthermore,

aunque no lo debe ser,
pues vivo yo en su ausencia

if he can still live without her then she too must survive.

It is clear from this that the captive is in a turmoil; his misery is not so much a physical one of being made to row, but a spiritual one. Each time he sees the shores of Spain, so near yet so far away, all his doubts and fears for his wife's safety and continuing affection are awakened. It is something of a jolt when we realise that this captive has been in this position for ten years. It is small wonder that he is confused, yet none of these hardships or sorrows are likely to kill him, in which case he is, like Garcilaso's lover, 'siempre al remo condenado' (line 35).[66] More dead than alive, he is unable to take his own life, and so he must continue to live 'sin libertad y sin ella'. For this captive, the loss of his wife and his freedom are of equal weight, and his grief is evenly balanced between them. Here the lament ends because:

...el cómitre mandó usar
al forzado de su fuerza. 11.39-40

and he must row in order to escape from the threat 'de la Religión seis velas'. Six ships appear on the horizon all bearing the crosses on their sails of the Order of St John of Malta. This Christian fleet protected the shores of the Mediterranean from Turkish pirates,[67] and lone pirate ships would flee from them. The irony of the situation - the Christian captive must use all his strength to escape from those who would grant him his liberty - is not fully developed in this romance but Góngora's intimation is clear. The use of meaningful truncation here is a superb example of how Góngora adroitly adapts devices from

the old tradition for use in his new poems.

The second romance develops the irony much further, for in 'La desgracia del forzado' the captive himself is aware of the situation and repeatedly laments:

> ¿De quién me quejo con tan grande extremo,
> si ayudo a mi daño con mi remo?

Perhaps the most striking difference between this romance and the one above is a stylistic one. 'Amarrado al duro banco' is written in a much simpler and straightforward manner than this rather 'culto' romance nuevo. The first three quatrains of 'La desgracia del forzado' form a single sentence of highly complicated syntax. Dualistic phrasing is used once again but its effect is increased two-fold in the first quatrain alone. Two causal pairs are given to help outline the scene. The first three elements:

> La desgracia del forzado,
> y del corsario la industria,
> la distancia del lugar ll.1-3

are given equal weight, whilst the fourth 'el favor de la Fortuna' receives more attention. Fortune or fate plays the most significant role in this romance. Fortune:

> ...por las bocas del viento
> les daba a soplas ayuda
> .....
> a las otomanas lunas, ll.5-6 and 8

helping them escape from the Christians by filling their sails on which the emblems of their religion are displayed. This romance has been taken up where the other has ended. The pirate ship flees from the Christian fleet and it is because of those four things, the captive's ill luck, the pirate's

skill, the distance between the two ships and Chance, that the Turkish galley escapes. All in a moment, the luck of the Christian captive and his hopes of setting foot on his allies' ships and native shores are dashed:

> ...de los ojos
> del forzado a un tiempo huyan,
> dulce patria, amigas velas
> esperanzas y ventura. ll.9-12.

Góngora's word-play is more subtle here, too, than in the previous romance, for these four elements seem to flee (huyan) before the captive's very eyes, whilst in reality it is the captive, or at least the galley which he helps to row, which takes flight.

In this romance, as in the previous one, it is through his eyes that the captive apprehends the world, and here they almost become a symbol for his hopes. When these hopes are destroyed by the escape of the galley he turns his eyes away from disappointment:

> Vuelve, pues, los ojos tristes
> a ver cómo el mar le hurta
> las torres, y le da nubes,
> las velas, y le da espumas. ll.13-16.

Where once he imagined the illusory hope of the towers of his homeland, there is now nothing to see but clouds, and the sails of the Christian fleet have been replaced by the waves. The flight has slowed down for the galley-master is satisfied that they are far enough from danger, and so the captive returns to his lament. The irony is made explicit by the estribillo.

Since his eyes do not see him freed now, after such an opportunity for having been liberated, then he no longer hopes ever to see his hands freed from the oar or his feet from their

shackles. He attributes it to Fortune's will that he is fated to be in misery as long as he lives:

> ...en esta desgracia mía
> fortuna me ha descubierto
> que cuantos fueron mis años
> tantos serán mis tormentos. 11.27-30.

The captive continues now to address his lament to the Christian fleet, asking them not to follow or try to reach them as it gives him no relief:

> Velas de la Religión,
> enfrenad vuestro denuedo,
> que mal podréis alcanzarnos
> pues tratáis de mi remedio. 11.33-36.

Each time they approach 'El enemigo os va' with the consequence that he must row harder. Besides, he is sure that his fate is sealed, for:

> ...favorécele el tiempo
> por su libertad no tanto
> cuanto por mi cautiverio. 11.38-40.

The time is not right for his release, but rather the winds and weather favour only the escape of the Turks.[68]

He exhorts the fleet to stay 'en aquesa Playa' off Marbella where the poem began. His thoughts are there and will always return to that place like a ship coming to port. 'Complain about my misfortune' he asks:

> y no echéis la culpa al viento.

The poem ends with the <u>estribillo</u> once again. The Christian fleet cannot blame the winds for the escape of the Turkish galley for it is the captive himself who has with his strength caused it to make such a rapid escape.

The captive's lament ends with a sigh, which is sent off to his beautiful wife. In the Chacón version, the final line of the lament reads:

y en el mar de Argel te espero

as if the captive expects the sigh to return to him, whilst in the Sexta parte de Flor de romances nuevos, the final two lines are:

y dile a mi esposa bella
que en el mar de Argel la espero.

Neither makes much sense, although Chacón, because of its open-endedness is probably preferable. I do not believe that the captive would wish his wife to visit Algiers for if she did so it would most likely be as a slave herself. The only other explanation is that he hopes she will come to liberate him with ransom money, but none of this is made in the least bit clear by the lines I have quoted. Mentioned only at the end like this, his wife's role is reduced to a minor one in the poem, almost an afterthought in the captive's lament. It is interesting here too that the sea described in the other romance as the 'sagrado mar de España' has become 'el mar de Argel'. This captive has acknowledged that he is not going home to Spain in the near future; he is fully resigned to his fate as a slave. As Camamis tells us, Góngora's romances de cautivos do reveal the sad reality of the situation and the predominant idea is that of anxiety over one's liberty.[69] But I think Vega Carney is wrong when, discussing 'La desgracia del forzado' she says:[70]

Este forzado anhela la intervención de los barcos representantes de su fe

because lines 33-36 and 43-44 show clearly that he only wishes that they might keep away. The 'elemento nostálgico' for his country is clearly there, and I do not doubt that this captive would feel a great 'deseo de la libertad' but this second element is not made explicit.[71] Any desire for freedom is overshadowed by the total lack of hope and belief in chance that the captive displays.

These two romances viewed together provide a classic example of the way in which Góngora handled his subject matter. I do not think that Góngora was attempting to create greatly controversial works of art here. The very fact that he chose to write two poems in the same form, in the same subject, with the same characters and sentiments, and in the same year (if we follow Chacón's dating) is reasonable proof that this was a specific literary exercise. Although it would be unwise to try to decide which of the two romances was written first, it is possible to suggest that 'Amarrado al duro banco' was likely to be the earlier, if only because of its simpler form. Simplicity, however, proves very little. The second romance is considerably more complex, not only in form and syntax, but also stylistically and thematically. Both irony and motifs (eyes, fortune) are more skilfully developed in 'La desgracia del forzado', an altogether more sophisticated poem. If Góngora did write 'Amarrado al duro banco' first, then 'La desgracia del forzado' could be thought of as a development of it. The major similarity apart from the storyline, appears in the imagery of eyes and weeping, and the sea and its shores. Water itself is perhaps one of the most recurrent single images of Góngora's poetry and is often linked with the idea of love.[72] All the above-mentioned themes have been linked with love in a previous romance, 'La más

bella niña' (1580), where a young wife weeps for her husband who has gone across the sea to war. Like the captive's wife in 'Amarrado al duro banco' she weeps on the shores of the sea and her husband is always referred to by the synecdoche of his eyes - 'los ojos' - which are so important for the captive's understanding of his plight in 'La desgracia del forzado'. Góngora may have intended a link back to the earlier romance, but the elements under discussion are too universal to assert anything more definitely. It would certainly be too bold to suggest that all three are part of a cycle of romances. Some scholars have indeed included the two romances de cautivos in part of a complete cycle of romances moriscos whilst others disagree.[73] Vega Carney is of the opinion that the romances moriscos and the romances de cautivos should be categorized separately, and that Góngora in fact preferred the latter.[74] This is in agreement with Menéndez Pidal who judges the romances de cautivos to be the antithesis of the romances moriscos because of their 'sobriedad y carácter de realidad'. I would go along with this because so many of the later romances moriscos are either burlesque or idealized in character whilst these are totally serious.

I think that these two early romances, written when Góngora was only twenty-two years old, were a poetic exercise for him, a chance to display two totally different ways of handling one story. Which one was the more successful? It would be hard to say, and any opinion would probably be formed on a basis of personal preference. 'Amarrado al duro banco' is complete, an almost perfect romance in the traditional mode, down to knowing how to 'callar a tiempo', yet it is still very much a gongorine work, if only because of its conceits (lines

11-12, 14, etc.). 'La desgracia del forzado', in spite of its cleverly contrived syntactical structure and a clear romance nuevo form (regular quatrains with a repeated estribillo) which increases the lyricism of the poem, seems incomplete.[75] The captive's speech ends with a half-formed after-thought, not with the dramatic dynamism of 'Amarrado al duro banco'. Had it ended four lines sooner there would have been no uncertainty about line 50. My preference is for the shorter romance as a finished unit, and it is because this is as polished as the other that I find it impossible to suggest which of the two might have been the first to be written.

* * * * *

If these romances were poetic exercises, it is not surprising that Góngora returned to the romance de cautivos ten years later to write 'Levantando blanca espuma'(number 39) and 'Según vuelan por el agua' (number 49) in 1602. Both are romances de cautivos involving the escape of a ship from pirates or enemies, and are quite realistic in tone. However, they differ from one another in that the first appears as a straightforward story of a newly-wed couple who fear they may be captured on their nuptial voyage, whilst the second is a eulogy to the Duque de Lerma (which would account for its lateness). Robert Jammes sees this as the same idea as is repeated in Góngora's Panegírico al Duque de Lerma.[76] A courtly poem, it cleverly exploits the morisco genre and has been classified as a romance morisco by several scholars. These two have also been called romances de piratas[77] or romances de persecución.[78]

Clearly, Góngora has gone much further than parodic statements of rejection of the conventional Moorish mode. All of the romances de cautivos y piratas displace any sentimental

attitude toward the Moor, for Moorish and Turkish pirates had become too fierce an enemy to Spanish liberty. These romances do not fit into any conventional category of the romancero, and there is one romance in particular which proves even more difficult to classify. The story it recounts is more akin to a romance fronterizo although love is just as much part of its theme as war. 'Servía en Orán al rey' was written in 1587, and stands apart from all the other romances.[79]

* * * * *

It could be easily argued that 'Servía en Orán al rey' is another parodistic romance morisco. There is a highly erotic undercurrent to the poem because of its very subject matter, and at times I am uneasy about the blatant, almost lewd, sexuality of the language Góngora uses. For this one romance morisco amoroso above all others I believe it is impossible to rest on only a single interpretation. I also believe that it was Góngora's intention that this should be so. Two interpretations, both quite simple to separate from each other (in fact they do not overlap at all), are not only possible within one poem, but highly probable in the works of a poet of Góngora's ingenuity. The first of these is that the romance describes an encounter between a soldier and an African girl whose interest in one another is purely carnal. The Spaniard carries two lanzas, one obviously being that of steel, but the second is probably a sexual innuendo. Alzieu, in a compilation of Poesías eróticas, lists many examples of the erotic connotations applicable to the lance, sword or dagger;[80] likewise espuelas were common acoutrements for the erotic lover[81] whilst the use of equestrian vocabulary adds a note of bestiality to the description of their love-making. The quatrain in which this

appears also transmits the sense of interruption to their actions, including the idea of non-consummation in the line 'no salir es cobardía', where Alzieu has shown that 'salir' was a common euphemism for ejaculation.[82] The interpretation can be extended; the español is described as 'brioso',[83] and the girl, scornful at his untimely exit bitterly remarks: 'yo os hago a vos mucha sobra/y vos a él (el General) mucha falta'. Following the usage of such words in vulgar poetry the speech is nothing short of indecent[84] and extremely sarcastic. The obvious innuendo of the poem gives a burlesque interpretation, which once embarked upon becomes easy to continue to all its logical, if scatological, conclusions. The second interpretation I propose to outline is more subtle and complex, and as such requires a much more detailed analysis.

In spite of being incomplete 'Servía en Orán al rey' can be seen to be one of the most beautiful and accomplished of Góngora's romances moriscos. It has won the admiration of many scholars, among whom, Carmen Vega Carney is one of the most recent to write about the romance. In her article she gives a resumée of those studies already made of the romances moriscos in general to whom, in my study of 'Servía en Orán al rey', I can only add the name of Diane Chaffee.[85] Those who have passed brief comment in discussion of the romance morisco as a whole are Vega Carney herself, Glenroy Emmons, Rita Goldberg and, of course, Dámaso Alonso in the commentaries to poems collected in his Góngora y el Polifemo, volume II. Goldberg tells us of a variant found in Rasgos de ocio which was converted into a dance by the use of a gloss, the repetition of an estribillo and other poetic devices. It is a baile dramático which, at 140 lines, is over three times as long as the

original romance, but which nevertheless manages to retain the essential elements: 'aunque hay algún falto literario la obra tiende a intensificar el espíritu y ambiente del romance de "Servía en Orán al rey"'.[86]

Glenroy Emmons's study of the historical and literary perspective of the romances moriscos is highly relevant to 'Servía en Orán al rey'.[87] Quoting from R. Altamira y Crevea's Historia de España, he emphasizes the fact that in medieval history 'apenas hay guerra en que figuren exclusivamente de un lado musulmanes y de otro cristianos, sino que en ambos ejércitos van mezclados tropas de las dos procedencias'.[88] The Andalusian fronterizo ballads of the fifteenth century, probably those which Góngora knew best, were pro-Moorish and often extremely sentimental. Only later did the theme of love steal into them. In a note Emmons adds: 'Though we may find it hard to accept, the picture of the Moor or the Christian riding to battle with some token of esteem from his lady love seems to be a faithful one in the romances fronterizos'.[89] This faithful love continued on into the later erudite romances moriscos and may even account for some of their popularity. Dámaso Alonso, even more broad-minded than Emmons, or so it may appear, has no difficulty even in accepting the love between the two races (reminding us, of course, of the episode of the Captive found in Don Quijote (1605), I, chapters 39-41). For Vega Carney, this love is precisely that which distinguishes this romance from the rest:[90]

> Góngora ennoblece la relación ilícita de los protagonistas y la corte trama resulta ser de gran interés. Este romance se distingue, entre todos los otros de africanos y moriscos, porque la relación amorosa se consuma...muy lejos de los bailes y las zambras de los romances moriscos, y mas lejos aún de la nostalgia del cautivo.

No individual study of the whole romance 'Servía en Orán al rey' has yet been attempted. All scholars tell the story briefly, but then one needs only to read the poem to learn that much. Only Diane Chaffee attempts to iron out problems which have always been present in 'The endings of Góngora's "Servía en Orán al rey"'.[91] I shall deal with her arguments later in my own analysis. She like others, points out that the poem survives in as many as five different texts,[92] but I shall use here the Chacón version, as reproduced by Carreño, because it is the most widely available, and, until now, accepted text.

The romance first appeared in 1591 in Flor de varios romances nuevos, part II, again in 1593, part III and in Libro de romances. The Chacón manuscript gives its date as 1587 and Vicuña prints a variant. As with others of Góngora's romances it must soon have become popular at all levels of society as Goldberg proves with her baile dramático and because of the appearance of Miguel de Barrio's comedia El español de Orán (Brussels, 1665). Wilson and Sage also show how the lincs:

> tan noble como hermosa,
> tan amante como amada, 11.5-6

appear again in Calderón's Primero soy yo,[93] and as with many other romances, passages are selected for use as examples of subtlety and wit in the concepto in Gracián's Agudeza y arte de ingenio.[94]

The romance is written in octosyllables and arranged in quatrains, and its most striking feature is the fine balance between words and phrases. Several couplets contain perfect parallel phrases, for example:

un español con dos lanzas,
y con el alma y la vida.

Two opposing sets of ideas - one concrete and one spiritual - represent here the two separate concerns of the Spaniard's existence, present in a single couplet. This is flanked by two lines reflecting those concerns in just a little more detail:

Servía en Orán al rey
.....
a una gallarda africana.

He serves the king with his physical attributes and the woman with his spiritual ones, at least in this first quatrain, for as I will explain the balance of allegiances is less simplistic than it might initially appear. This, then, is the background to the incident: in Oran in North Africa, hostilities are underway. They involve both Muslims and Christians, probably in equal proportions on both sides. The use of Oran as a location makes us think of the wars fought in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabel (Oran was captured by the warrior cardinal Cisneros from the Muslims for Spain). We must remember that the intermingling of races was well advanced even by that time. No specific incident is indicated, however, and the king could be any one of a number of monarchs, earlier or later than Ferdinand. This is clearly deliberate. Nevertheless this king must be a Christian because the attack which prompts the incident in the story comes from the Zeneta, a North African Berber tribe. The social status of the español is not made clear. He serves his king, as part of the normal heirarchy; all soldiers do this. If this is still a feudal society, and he is answerable to no other commander (except a general over the whole army) then the español is almost certain to be of knightly or noble status.

This supposition can also be justified by his willingness to serve a woman, as only those who were noble usually became courtly lovers in that second type of feudal relationship.

Góngora reserves the one surprising element of the whole quatrain for its final word; the Spaniard, as to be expected, serves both his king and his lady who is 'una gallarda africana'. As is the custom in times of war soldiers often associate with less scrupulous women of the conquered opposition, but this is not a camp-follower, but a lady who is, Góngora goes on to say, 'tan noble como hermosa' and even more to the point, 'tan amante como amada'. This is not a casual encounter between two members of the lower classes but a liaison between two noble people. Vega Carney notes how: 'Aquí se presenta una relación madura entre dos adultos amantes', and it is not simply mature but also mutual.[95] Here we must not allow the subtle way in which the relationship is discovered in the poem escape our notice. Its intensity is not revealed immediately; it is mutual at the start and at line 7 still appears to be innocent. The knight is only <u>with</u> the lady:

con quien <u>estaba</u> una noche (my italics).

Two progressions now run parallel to one another and as the excitement of the attack and the alarms increase so the tension in the relationship grows and its essential elements are revealed. From the languid beginnings of the <u>romance</u>, the excitement mounts.

The alarm sounds and the poet tells us swiftly, in a chain of repetitions which enhance the movement of cause and effect in the <u>romance</u>, what has taken place:

Trescientos Cenetes eran
de este rebato la causa,

que los rayos de la luna
descubrieron sus adargas; 11.9-12.

There is no point in an enquiry into why there should have been three hundred of these men. It may be a figure taken from the account of an historical event or just used because three hundred, like three, is one of those magical numbers used in folklore. All that is really important here is that a great number of men, armed to the teeth, with daggers drawn and glinting in the moonlight would look like three hundred at the very least, and would certainly strike fear into the hearts of those they sought to kill. The moon has an ambiguous role here, somewhat like the moon in García Lorca's Romancero gitano, for she is both the benign force who attempts to save the city by warning of the approach of Zeneta, and also the disapproving goddess of chastity who does this to tear the lovers away from their embraces. In the silence of the night, the glint of steel is spotted by the sentinels who light beacons, which although still noiseless, send out a much brighter visual alert to those in the town. Seeing this the lookouts begin to ring the alarm bells to call the troops to arms, and it is these bells which first rouse the español. We are now told that he is 'enamorado' and actually in his mistress's arms when he hears all the commotion. The relationship between the two proves to be not quite as innocent as it appeared at first. Their feelings are strong for one another, and locked in passionate embraces the soldier hears, not the whispers of his lady, but:

...el militar estruendo
de las trompas y cajas. 11.19-20.

In his dual role as soldier and lover, he cannot ignore

either side of his conscience. The thoughts of the español move rapidly to his role as a knight and this is expressed in cavalier terms:

> espuelas de honor le pican
> y freno de amor le para; 11.21-22.

Like his charger, he cannot help but want to rush headlong into the fray, but for the love he feels for his lady. His natural instinct would be to stay in her warm embraces but 'no salir es cobardía' and therefore out of the question. Yet again the balance swings back, for 'ingratitud es dejalla'. He feels the same duty both to her and to his king. Yet the tables have turned in a moment. Whereas, when all was quiet, the physical aspects of war-making were put aside for the more spiritual ones of love, now the physical act of love-making must be discarded for the spiritual side of his duty to the king, honour and self-esteem.

Leaping up, the Spaniard quickly dresses and buckles on his sword. Seeing him do this the lady throws her arms around his neck, and he stands adorned by his two major weaknesses, the sword hanging from his waist and the lady, 'pendiente ella', clinging to his neck. She pleads and weeps, and her words gently rebuke him for even desiring to leave, although they also acknowledge the necessity for his departure. In this mutual relationship it seems that she understands his need to fight as much as his need to love. Her first words are: 'Salid al campo, señor'. She is not, then, urging him to stay, although once he has gone:

> bañen mis ojos la cama,
> que ella me será también,
> sin vos, campo de batalla. 11.29-32.

This quatrain reveals several more things about their relationship. Firstly, the form of address, señor, indicates the respect she bears for him. Secondly, the poet at last acknowledges that their union is sexual by referring to la cama. Without his presence the bed will be a devastated battleground to her, over which she will only be able to weep. The metaphorical use of this phrase, 'campo de batalla', for the lovers' bed was common, either as a site for the wars of love or, in the absence of one or other of the lovers, as a desolate place.[96] Here both senses could be accepted - before as love's battlefield, but now desolate.

Chaffee disputes the future tense 'será' (line 31) in this Chacón variant because it is the only one in the entire poem, and she feels that the use of the subjunctive 'sea' found in the Badajoz manuscript is more likely to be correct. Because of its grammatical soundness and the introduction of an indefinite element she thinks that it suits well the uncertain outcome of the incident. Nevertheless, it does not alter the sentiments of the africana, who tells the español to hurry, dress and go to the general of the army who now needs him. She realizes that the time has come for him to leave, since he has spent so long with her. The need of the general is greater than hers for the moment:

> yo os hago a vos mucha sobra
> y vos a él mucha falta. ll.35-36.

To some, these lines may appear odd, as if she has had enough and is even glad to be rid of him. They fit the scheme of parallel antithetical phrases well, but this is not, I feel, the sole reason for their inclusion. There is nothing really odd about these words. Góngora is just emphasizing the way in

which, in a mature relationship, rather than make too much unnecessarily painful fuss, the partner who is left behind will put on a brave face for a while, although this can be a very great strain. It would appear to prove too much for the africana, for having told the español to get dressed in line 33 she now lets her real feelings and concern emerge, saying:

> Bien podéis salir desnudo,
> pues mi llanto no os ablanda,
> que tenéis de acero el pecho,
> y no habéis menester armas. 11.37-40.

She attempts to make the soldier realize that he is too cruel if he leaves her, his heart so hard that it will shield him from the fiercest blows. She finds it difficult to express her feelings and she speaks scornfully as a show of her own courage.

The español, however, is resolute ('brioso') and realizing that she is only playing for time tries to calm and sweeten her, explaining that he intends to carry out two things,[97] whilst still showing that same mutual respect by calling her 'señora':

> porque con honra y Amor
> yo me quede, cumpla y vaya,
> vaya a los moros el cuerpo,
> y quede con vos el alma. 11.45-48.

He will stay with her in the name of love by leaving his soul behind, and he will leave in the name of honour taking his body to battle. His heart will not be in the fighting, but instead will remain with her. This is, really, the only possible resolution for the dilemma, and if Góngora did not write these final lines, then whoever did so managed to maintain the fine balance of opposing elements which we have seen throughout the romance. 'Honra y amor' found in the same line (45), close together, refer down respectively to lines 47 and 48. In line

47 the español says 'vaya', and in 48 'quede', and these two key words link back to line 46 where they are placed on either side of 'cumpla' - his intention to carry them both out with equal force. The balance is again almost perfect, and it brings the romance full circle to its initial situation; war is once more reduced to a physical activity whilst their love survives in a spiritual capacity. E. M. Wilson, speaking of this romance, says it is based on the literary convention of the 'alborada', although the lovers are separated by the attack rather than by the coming of the day (the lighted beacons perhaps acting as the coming of light):[98]

> The conversation in it between the lovers may well ultimately derive from that in earlier albas.

All that remains for the soldier to do in the final quatrain is to get the lady's permission to leave:

> Concededme, dueño mío,
> licencia para que salga
> al rebato en vuestro nombre,
> y en vuestro nombre combata.

As it stands, the knight having promised to fight for her, she has little choice but to give him her blessing. He would probably go anyway, but just by asking again he shows the respect he bears for her and his status within their courtly relationship. He speaks to her here as 'dueño mío', and although most scholars agree that this is a mark of respect, they do not agree on why this should be. Alemany y Selfa is perhaps the least perturbed by the use of 'dueño' in reference to a woman:

> En los requiebros amorosos llámase así
> siempre a la mujer,

but others see it not as a playful but a serious practice. In the courtly love tradition of the troubadours the lady was usually addressed as 'midons' (my lord),[99] and there was also a separate Arabic practice where it was not only used in amorous but also in general use. The reasons why the masculine form was used rather than the feminine have been advanced as a reluctance to use 'dueña' in platonic relationships because of its accepted use for describing the mistress in illicit relationships,[100] or because 'dueña' was the name often given to crotchety servants.[101] The female 'dueño' is seen as either a respectful and respected, or a despotic and whimsical master depending upon the tradition one chooses to follow. It is difficult to decide precisely which tradition is foremost here, but it is feasible that the poet knew that this usage of the masculine form was a sign of respect in both Muslim and Christian poetic traditions. For this reason it is totally harmonious with the subject matter and atmosphere of the poem, and of course bears a strong influence on the way one views the lover and his lady throughout the romance.

All is well, provided that the ending of the poem is accepted as it stands here. One is never very sure when something is printed in italics (as it is in the Carreño edition) whether the editor accepts a variant or not. Italics get us nowhere, particularly when there is no explanation other than that of Chacón.[102] It leaves the poem hanging in mid-air and may explain why no-one has bothered to study it in detail, under the pretext that you cannot come to conclusions about an incomplete poem. Perhaps, now that Diane Chaffee has attempted to solve the problem of the lost ending, more careful studies will be made. Yet even she is not prepared to

commit herself to the full.[103] Her conclusion is that although Chacón's ending is not a total disaster:

> the last two quatrains of CHACÓN'S version which are 'agenos' are somewhat more acceptable than those of NAPLES and distinctly superior to the concluding strophes of VIENNA and MADRID.

The variant found in Badajoz is:

> ...most like CHACÓN...few minor variants... Final verses close to MADRID but grammatically sound....The BADAJOZ ending, then, is more indefinite than that of MADRID. Its contrived ambiguity and correct grammar may mean that it is Góngora's missing conclusion.

She may be right (I give the ending in the notes)[104] but if so it may mean that she has found an ending which destroys some of the mystery of the romance. Whether the Chacón ending is also Góngora's or not, it is one which gives a lot more information to the reader and suits the miniature drama well.

* * * * *

It is possible to regard the poem I have just examined as either a parody or a refined and artistic romance, stylistically similar to the more cultivated examples of Góngora's later works. Only two romances moriscos remain to be discussed, both of which are highly polished and elegant works. Their peculiarity is that both 'Por las faldas del Atlante' (number 83) and 'En la fuerza de Almería' (number 82) were written in 1620 when the romance morisco had lost much of its former popularity with writers and the public.

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There can be no doubt that 'Por las faldas del Atlante' is an authentic composition, not just a romance attributed to

Góngora, even though it does not appear in either the Vicuña or the Hoces y Córdoba editions of the poet's work. Sections of it are to be found in the Cancionero de Coimbra,[105] and it appears in full in the Chacón manuscript. I am not altogether certain as to why it should not have interested more scholars of Góngora's work, although the difficulties of assigning it to any particular subgenre or type of romance may provide some explanation. Precisely where Vicuña would have included it among his broad categories of romances would be difficult to decide, and more recent scholars do not agree on its area of classification. Robert Jammes designates it a 'romance de Hacén' and includes a short discussion of the romance alongside other 'romances africaines' of his study.[106] On the other hand, David Loughran groups it with other romances venatorios. His study of the 'venatic motif', primarily in romance number 77, calls for no analysis of Moorish elements within the romance, and he concentrates his attention on classical mythological aspects.[107] My own decision to discuss it among the romances moriscos was, like Jammes's, based entirely on subject matter. Xarifa is a young Moorish woman, the scene is set in North Africa, and this is sufficient reason, without even emphasizing the changes that appear to have taken place in Góngora's attitude towards Moorish subjects.

The poet's attitude here is undoubtedly the most important consideration, for the outstanding question about both this romance and number 82, 'En la fuerza de Almería', is why Góngora should have returned to African material in 1620 after an interval of eighteen years.[108] Quite apart from the fact that Góngora had previously exhausted most of the possibilities of the romance morisco in both its serious and burlesque

aspects, the popularity of the subgenre throughout Spain had also diminished in favour of the romance pastoril. Jammes speculates that both may have been written in homage to ladies of the Royal Court of Spain, saying of number 83:[109]

> il est dificile de déterminer la portée exacte de cette composition qui semble bien, à travers les noms de Jarifa et de Celinda, rendre hommage à quelques dames du palais, peutêtre même a la reine Isabelle de Bourbon....

The supposition is reasonable, for in the same year Góngora wrote 'Las esmeraldas en yerba' and 'Al tronco de un verde mirto' specifically for the prince Philip and his princess. The plot could easily have been suggested by an event at Court, where perhaps one lady might have sung and played to another at her leisure. The courtly ambience of these poems is pronounced, the language graceful and measured, quite unlike the rapid narrational style of 'Servía en Orán al rey' or 'Entre los sueltos caballos', and the poet seems remote from his work, a stance which Jammes describes as "cold".[110]

In 'Por las faldas del Atlante' Góngora has not simply returned to the romance morisco of previous years. The Moorish elements of this poem are inextricably interwoven with both a venatic mode (as Loughran explains) and with classical mythology; all three elements are of equal importance to the romance. It is precisely this juxtaposition of classical, lyrical and traditional aspects that renders the romance difficult to decipher. Regarding its theme Loughran is correct to say that overall it is love, although precisely what kind of love Góngora intends us to understand from it is not altogether clear. Loughran sees an 'inherent ambiguity' in the

representation of Diana, yet far more complex ambiguities still can be detected in the finer details of the composition.

The romance is highly refined and its courtly nature is reflected by its delicate subject matter, subtle composition and even its language. The romance is not arranged haphazardly but, like the scene Góngora evokes, the lines of the poem have been 'conducido' rather than 'precipitado', and the movement of the poem appears to follow the movement of the water as it is described in the first twelve lines. A strong sense of divine intention pervades even the first few lines:

> Por las faldas del Atlante,
> no como precipitado,
> sino como conducido,
> arroyo desciende claro ll.1-4.

The traditional formulaic nature of the first line[111] is transformed from the ordinary by its classical allusiveness. Atlas, one of the Titans, is compelled by Jupiter, for his part in their rebellion, to support the heavens upon his shoulders. Later he is turned into a mountain for scorning Perseus. One senses that the forces at work in the poem emanate from the very heavens. It is there that the clear stream originates and is guided in a predetermined path down through the North African foothills of the Atlas mountains, guided down, as it were, intentionally:

> a fecundar los frutales
> y a dar librea a los cuadros
> de las huertas del Xarife,
> del jardín de su palacio. ll.5-8.

Here, in the foothills of the mountains lies a Moorish palace, probably similar to that of the Alhambra with its gardens and

orchards watered by the clear mountain streams. The water serves a dual function; firstly it is ornamental, like a silver livery adorning the irrigated gardens, and secondly it brings fertility by watering the plant beds. Once in the garden the water is channelled into spirals which curvet and rush around like Arab horsemen (caracolear):

> divertido en caracoles,
> como jinete africano,
> comienza en cristal corriendo
> y acaba perlas sudando. 11.9-12.

At the top of the spiral the water rushes in and emerges in pearls at its goal, perhaps like the Arab's horse, beginning in a frenzy and coming to rest covered with beads of sweat. This description of the water in its downward path always serves to remind me of the staircase of the Generalife in Granada in which the water is diverted down through the hand-rails by means of a series of shallow and then deeper channels. The water appears to form a whirlpool or spiral each time it disappears from view, and its final emergence at the end of the stairway is forceful enough to send up a shower of tiny pearl-like droplets of spray. Góngora perhaps, having visited Granada, may have also witnessed this refreshing spectacle.

The motif of water continues as the rush of the stream 'besa la copia', bringing fertility to the gardens. Droplets of moisture dissolve into the scented waters of the palace baths:

> donde Amor fomenta el fuego
> con la leña de sus dardos
> para templarle a Xarifa
> uno con otro contrario: 11.17-20.

The water, conducted down from the heavens (air), over the

foothills (earth) to the gardens, stirs the fires of love as it bathes Xarifa's body, instead of dousing their flames. All of the natural elements, earth, air and fire, are united by the final element of water. In this, the fifth, quatrain of the poem, all water imagery is converted into fire - the fire of love stirred by the pokers of Cupid's darts whose shafts are 'leña' (wood, firewood), and with which he tries to melt and soften Xarifa. The two things are naturally contrary, but here Góngora makes one arise from out of the other.

The characters of the romance are now introduced and for the remainder of the poem Xarifa will be bathing in the 'baños' of the palace of Xarife, her grandfather.[112] Her name is typically Arabic (the heroine of the Abencerraje bears the same name), and it appears frequently in earlier romances moriscos. The root of the name is 'sobresalir en gloria y dignidad, ser ilustre' and it is the feminine form of Sharif meaning noble in Arabic.[113] The owner of the garden, Xarife, is listed by Alemany y Selfa as a 'Descendiente de Mahoma, por su hija Fátima, esposa de Alí', an illustrious ancestry indeed. It is a name familiar from El Abencerraje - 'La hermosa Jarifa' of that work suggests an association of the name with beauty, and because of her ancestry, the beauty of this particular girl named Xarifa seems to be of a semi-divine nature. These things are re-emphasized in the following quatrain where the central scene of the romance is introduced.

Xarifa is described as:

> Cintia africana,
> que absuelto el hombro del arco,
> en las termas de su abuelo
> el sudor depone casto. 11.21-24.

Here, by inevitable association, she is attributed with the beauty, divinity and chastity of Diana who was said to dwell on Mount Cynthus. Moon goddess and twin sister of the sun-god Apollo, Diana is usually depicted as a huntress, carrying a bow over her shoulder. The African Cynthia puts down her bow to relax in the baths of her grandfather's palace, and in them she loses not, as in the baños de amor of traditional poetry, her maidenhood, but the sweat and grime of the chase.[114] The current which 'acaba perlas sudando' now assimilates the 'sudor casto' of the maiden. The symbolism is highly erotic; Xarifa's exertions have been chaste, yet the figure of the huntress herself is provocative. Water and baths convey such strong symbolic connotations of fertility that one cannot help but see this mingling of 'sudor' as an erotic image, as if Xarifa is coupled here with the forces of nature. At one with nature, she competes with man-made artifice; the alabaster of the bath which, for all its gloss and smoothness, is not so fine as her silken limbs.

As she bathes, Celinda,[115] who may be a friend, a white captive slave, or an attendant like one of Diana's nymphs, plays on the lute and sings. Góngora uses the figurative construction 'en un laúd escribiendo' which is well suited to the task of transcribing a dictated song on a musical instrument.[116] It is the god of love, personified Amor, who tells her what to play and the words of the song complete the romance. Loughran says:

> Amor, in an effort to soften her defences, dictates the words of her [Celinda's] song - as much an indictment of her 'cruelty' as a description of her as a sort of female Cupid.

He quotes lines 59 to 66 to illustrate his point and goes on:[117]

> Yet contrary to the full demands of Love (uno con otro contrario) she, like Diana, is apparently not wounded in return, and remains aloof from the amorous chase, preferring the stag and the boar to the human 'game' struck down by her glance. Cupid, in his covetousness, would attain an ultimate victory in the game of love if he could inflict the same amorous suffering upon Xarifa (Diana) as she inflicts on other hapless mortals who meet her gaze.

The above succinct explanation of the song within the poem concurs with Loughran's arguments about the venatic motif but does not give a definitive interpretation of this romance.

The poet's allusion to Diana and Xarifa is clear, yet Amor's motive is not. We are not told why he should wish to 'soften her defences'. A reasonable assumption is that he does so as a suppliant for an admirer of hers, but no such lover is either present or mentioned, unless of course he is pleading on behalf of the poet or the reader.

Looking more closely at the song itself:

> Con arco y aljaba,
> ¿quién dice que soy?
> ¿el hijo de Venus?,
> ¿la hermana del Sol? 11.33-36

it opens with a conundrum - I have a bow and arrow; who am I? There are two possible immediate answers to this: Venus's son, Cupid, the winged god of love, or the sun-god Apollo's chaste sister, Diana. Xarifa, the romance tells, has 'absuelto el hombro del arco', to step into her bath. She is a third candidate, previously identified with the two divinities. The estribillo of the song continues:

¿Quién dicen que soy?
El hijo de Venus;
dicen bien;
La hermana del Sol;
dicen mejor. ll.37-41.

Loughran insists that these lines express 'the ambiguity of identity inherent in the figure of Diana in many of Góngora's venatic poems'[118] but I think that it does more than just this. In literal terms both things cannot apply simultaneously. Cupid and Diana are separate mythological characters with different origins and traits; one male and one female. Yet the estribillo claims that those who call this armed personality 'el hijo de Venus' - 'Dicen bien'. They are right, although if they were to say 'la hermana del Sol' they would be more correct still - 'Dicen mejor'. This is not just ambiguous; it is plain confusing, especially as Cupid and Diana were never mistaken for one another in mythology. It could be that the estribillo represents Xarifa's own words, that perhaps as she darts swiftly through the trees some take her to be Cupid whilst she would prefer to remain chaste and be mistaken for Diana.

This would be a major possibility if it were not for the fact that the song is sung by Celinda. Furthermore she is only repeating the words of Cupid. Everything is inverted. Here is Cupid saying 'I am Venus's son, but I am better called Apollo's sister''. There seems to be no logic in this at all; ambiguity or no ambiguity, Góngora is teasing the reader with a nonsense here, unless he intends some deeper, more symbolic, meaning. If the two divinities are thought of in terms of the psychological states they represent then I think a more satisfactory answer emerges. Cupid stands for a love that wounds suddenly and mischievously. Diana stands for chastity and the

rejection of love's advances. Xarifa exhibits both of these traits, as she is capable of making others fall quickly in love with her but will not reciprocate. Her insistence that she will not succumb to love is contained in the words of the song: it is only when they call her Diana that 'Dicen mejor'.

There is also, although it does not apply to Loughran's venatic motif, a more sinister side to Diana. She is the goddess of childbirth, who can choose to assist women in labour if she so wishes. By blessing humans with offspring she plays an important fertility role. When angered she can only be appeased by human-blood sacrifices. These elements of her mythological character are further explored in the next stanza of the romance:

> La cuna real,
> que con esplendor
> abrigo inquieto
> en la infancia os dió,
> árbol fue en las selvas
> que sombra prestó
> en la melodía
> de algún ruiseñor. ll.42-49.

The cradle which sheltered the divine twins, Apollo and Diana, was once a tree which provided shelter for a nightingale. The nightingale in mythology was Philomela, a chaste princess raped by her brother-in-law and then mutilated by having her tongue cut out. The tree which in nature sheltered her is cut down to be made into a cradle. Again Philomela is violated and so the cradle is an 'abrigo inquieto' which can provide no security because of its implications: for Tereus's crime of violation, Procne's children were torn to pieces and served as a banquet to their father. The violation of chastity, as

Diana would wish, is appeased by the blood of innocent children. The cradle, witness of all this in its original form:

> ...es, pues,
> quien solicitó
> a su natural
> vuestra inclinación. 11.50-53.

This raises even more questions: What is Diana's natural inclination, and why has the cradle become a suppliant?

All these disturbing and semi-erotic images do not make this an easy romance to understand, and one can only wonder at Góngora's intention. To return to Jammes's suggestion that it is written for a lady at Court, a second, although somewhat incomplete, interpretation can be proposed for the same stanza. A lady, perhaps raised in Court, so possibly a princess, would be rocked in a splendid, beautifully-carved cradle, but inquieto because Court favourites are never favourites for long. It is the Court itself, the people comprising it, who now hope that the lady will turn her thoughts to love and abandon her well-preserved chastity. The estribillo is repeated, and after such a solicitous and persuasive stanza one is inclined to agree more with the answer - 'hijo de Venus'.

The final stanza of the song shows Xarifa/Diana to be resilient in her stance. Persuasiveness turns to blatant accusation:

> Si ignoráis, cruel,
> cuántas deben hoy
> vuestro mirar almas,
> fieras vuestro arpón,
> el reino lo diga
> donde más por vos
> tiene que el Xarife
> vasallos Amor. 11.59-66.

If she should ignore this, the kingdom (other than that of el

Xarife) wherein her vassals of love will reside will presumably be Tartarus. She wounds many wild beasts with her arrows and the souls of men with a single glance. This is obviously a reference to the Court where many admirers of the lady in question suffer under her gaze and would die for love of her. Loughran says that she is a female Cupid in her cruelty, but he does not take into account that Diana could also be cruel: by her orders Tantalus was condemned always to unappeased hunger and thirst, and Actaeon was torn to pieces by his own pack of hunting hounds.

The final quatrain of the last stanza also poses problems of interpretation. Neither Loughran nor Jammes make any attempt to explain these lines:

> El monte lo calle,
> cuyos troncos no
> visten por cortezas
> pieles de león. ll.67-70.

Their meaning is hard to fathom, but it seems to me that 'el monte' is not the place, unlike 'el reino', where gossip will spread. The trunks of the trees are naturally adorned with bark 'no visten por cortezas pieles de león', that is not adorned with furs. Here somewhere there seems to be an intimation of the story of Atalanta. She was a huntress and imposed chastity upon herself. She was not a follower of Diana, and was the first to wound the Calydonian boar which Diana had sent as a punishment to farmers. She brought about the deaths of all her suitors except Hippomenes. Either because they did not thank Venus for her help or because their untimely desire led them to defile her sanctuary with their love-making (accounts differ), they were turned into lions. The cruelty of Diana is apparent,

as is that of Atalanta who was quite happy to see men die for her sake. To return to the romance, the pillars of the palace will foster rumours about the lady in question. The trunks of the trees will not.

Yet the enigma, repeated in the final estribillo, remains. The song has neither persuaded Xarifa nor enlightened the reader, so what might its purpose be? Its content seems to be not only a song of persuasion but at the same time, ironically, a warning to reject sexual love; for particularly Diana herself, yet also even Venus, Cupid's mother, deal harshly with lovers, often bringing about their cruel and tragic deaths. When Diana is angered she seeks blood, as the fates of Tantalus and Actaeon demonstrate. The crimes that merited such harsh punishments are significant in terms of this romance. Tantalus deliberately spied upon Diana at her bath and so was condemned to suffer unfulfilled desire eternally. The unfortunate Actaeon came across the goddess at her bath as he was hunting and met a violent end. The reader finds himself in a precarious position, for here he is a voyeur at the bath of Xarifa who is identified throughout the romance with the unappeasable goddess! The final estribillo confirms the reader's fate. It would be better for him if he were looking on the son of Venus, not the sister of Apollo.

In spite of the complexity of this romance, I do not think that it can be classed as one of Góngora's masterpieces, for in many ways it is too complex. Yet it expertly combines several subgenres - amoroso, morisco, mitológico - and is both courtly in language and simple in stylistic features. Góngora's stroke of genius was not simply to include and rework classical mythology but to metamorphose the reader himself into a mythological

figure, acting out his own small part in the god-game.

* * * * *

Robert Jammes gives a very full analysis of the other late poem, 'En la fuerza de Almería' (number 82) in his Études....[119] His view is that it forms the central poem of a cycle of romances de Hacén whose subject matter is taken directly from the Abencerraje, using, in fact, the most important moment from the novel. Celindaja is in a garden, almost a duplicate of the garden in the Abencerraje with its heady scent of jasmins and the water playing in the baths and fountains, although this garden contains more classically allusive symbolism in the myrtle bush, sacred to Venus, and the jasmins, symbolic of love, grace and beauty. Jammes insists that it is a masterpiece, although he gives no explanation of the romance's purpose other than as a poem in homage to a lady.

It is not a direct copy of the Abencerraje. Góngora combines several themes: the first (also found in the Abencerraje) is the issue of fraternal love between children. Hacén is saved from an early death by Celindaja's father and is raised as her brother. Carreño indicates that the relationship between Hacén and Celindaja is significantly linked to that of certain mythological couples. In a note to the romance, which I feel is to a great extent superfluous to the lines to which it refers (numbers 53-58), Carreño mentions Byblis and Caunus, Iphis and Ianthe, and Pyramus and Thisbe. Pyramus and Thisbe lived in a adjacent houses and showed a precocious love for one another. Iphis was born a girl, but to spare her life she was reared as a boy. Her marriage was contracted to the beautiful Ianthe, and Iphis fell in love with the girl. Bewailing her unnatural desire, she went to the temple where she was transformed into

a youth.[120] I fail to see the significance of the parallel which Carreño draws here to our understanding of the romance, although his further reference to Byblis is a little clearer. Byblis loved her twin brother, Caunus, who rejected her incestuous advances. She followed him everywhere in her madness and finally, consumed by her own tears, she was changed into a fountain.[121]

The appearance of the fountain in this garden could be seen to serve as a further reminder of the myth, but the circumstances are clearly not the same. Hacén and Celindaja are not siblings and she shows no particular desire for him anyway. Carreño appears to be reading too deeply into the romance's system of allusion. The theme in question is more likely to be that of identity than of foolishness in young lovers. Hacén deliberately hides his real identity, even though he is unaware of the deception:

> En la fuerza de Almería
> se disimulaba Hacén,
> Abencerraje hurtado
> a la indignación del Rey. ll.1-4.

Hacén is not who he is supposed to be; nevertheless Amor rather curiously disguises himself as Hacén, or in fact as Celindaja's 'brother', in order to induce her to love him:

> Por no alterar a la mora,
> en un listado alquicel,
> manto del Abencerraje,
> desmintió su desnudez,
> fiando a un mirto sus armas,
> verde frondoso dosel
> de un mármol, que ni Lucrecia
> ni fuente deja de ser,
> Pliegue el dorado volumen
> de sus alas el doncel,
> redimiendo ciegas luces,
> que más vendadas más ven.

Del Abencerraje luego
copia hecho tan fiel,
que los dudara el concurso,
equivocado jüez, ll.41-56.

I say curiously because, unless her inclinations are similar to those of Byblis, Celindaja would be unlikely to be persuaded to love by her brother.

Amor's disguise leads into a long persuasion to love in true 'carpe diem' style. The fleetingness of youth is emphasized:

Ejerced, le dice, hermana,
vuestra hermosura, y creed
que tan vana es la de hoy
como ingrata la de ayer.
Fugitivas son las dos,
usad de esos dones bien,
que en un cristal guardáis frágil
lo caduco en un clavel.
Si os reguláis con las flores
que visten esa pared,
horas son breves; el día
las ve morir que nacer.
Gozáos en sazón, que el tiempo,
tesorero ya infiel
de ese oro que peináis,
de ese marfil que escondéis,
desengaños restituye; ll.61-77

and the erotic intentions are explicit ('que un cristal guardáis frágil/lo caduco de un clavel' and 'Gozáos...ese marfil que escondéis'). Celindaja's reaction is to blush deeply. She considers this to be an improper and uncharacteristic speech 'del joven que hermano cree'. Amor gets no further with his persuasions. The real Hacén arrives and Amor has to flee - 'en su forma/pisando nubes se fue' - leaving everything now to the imagination of the reader. It cannot be known how the couple will react to one another, whether Celindaja will behave lovingly or scornfully toward Hacén, or how he will accept any change in her treatment of him from the norm.

As in romance 83, Amor is up to his tricks again, trying to persuade young girls to love. He is depicted here as an elegant youth, a courtly playboy:

> aquel niño dios, aquel
> fénix desnudo, si es ave,
> pollo siempre, sin deber
> segundas vidas al sol,
> nieto del mar en la fe. ll.36-40.

He attempts to seduce Celindaja who, like Xarifa, unwittingly reveals an erotic charm whilst taking her bath after the innocent exertions of dancing:

> Coros alternando y zambras
> con sus moras, hasta que
> daba al céfiro su frente
> aljófares que beber,
> de cuya dulce fatiga
> apelaba ella después
> al baño, que le templaban
> curiosidad y placer. ll.21-28.

Once again pearl-like droplets of perspiration are dispersed in the water of the bath. Alín tells how 'los baños tenían una significación altamente erótica...'[122] and cites a refrán taken from Correas: "La que de baño viene, bien sabe lo que quiere", that is to say: 'juntarse con el varón'.

Zephyrus, the soft west wind, was also a symbol of erotic desire in mythology, as are warm breezes in traditional Spanish folk legend, and Celindaja allows the wind to drink up the pearls of sweat from her brow. A further erotic element appears at line 75; combing one's hair also indicated in traditional poetry a readiness to meet one's lover.

The picture emerges of a beautiful but as yet innocent girl who is unaware of her own sexuality. Love urges her not to waste her charms. As with romance number 83, Góngora has

cleverly couched a poetic commonplace in the guise of a romance morisco novelesco. This is such a courtly persuasion to love that Jammes is almost certainly correct in believing it to have been written for a young lady at Court. Both romances written for this purpose preserve the same idealized elegance and mythological temperament, and emerge as courtly and cultured as either the Fábula de Polifemo y Galatea or the Soledades. Góngora skilfully manipulates the conventions of a declining genre, the romance morisco, in these two late compositions, in a totally unprecedented and inimitable manner.

* * * * *

Góngora established early in his poetic career that he was capable of writing conventional romances moriscos at the very least equal in quality to those of his nearest rival, Lope de Vega. The quantity of romances moriscos he wrote was, however, much smaller, yet almost every one reveals careful thought and intentions totally different to those of any other writer of the romance nuevo. The themes he elaborated are necessarily the same as those of all other romances comprising this subgenre, primarily love and its relevance in the face of war, and also the themes of captivity, and separation from a loved one. Nevertheless, the occasion for writing the various types of romance differs. Lope wrote the majority of his serious romances moriscos as camouflage for autobiographical affairs of the heart, and many other poets imitated this. Although it has been at times suggested that Góngora also practised this art, I do not believe that any of his romances moriscos were written with such a purpose in mind. The earliest examples of the subgenre in his work were explorations of the themes of love and the separation of lovers, and are extremely tender

and dignified romances of the African kind. Before long, however, Góngora turned not only to parody of the 'disguise' technique of Lope and others but also to self-parody, successfully pointing up the absurdities in many of the stylistic and thematic conventions of the subgenre. Góngora did not inherit untainted the ideal of the sentimental Moor. His attitude towards the love-sick Moor is decidedly humorous in intention, even in the earliest examples. It is interesting to compare the demonstrative Moor of 'Triste pisa y afligido' and 'Entre los sueltos caballos' with complaining Christian of romances such as 'Ciego que apuntas y atinas' and '¿No me bastaba el peligro...?'. Both types are made to appear equally ridiculous. This attitude towards the lover is sharply contrasted with that towards the genuinely unfortunate captives of 'Amarrado al duro banco', 'La desgracia del forzado' and other such romances, in which Góngora displays a tenderness and poignancy found in few of his other poems.

The romance morisco was to become over-exposed and Góngora only returned to it late in his career with new intentions. Finally it was to become once again a method of reflection on love, but from a different angle. The later, more courtly, romances moriscos no longer deal with war although the subtheme of conflict and opposition remains along with epithets of war to describe the process of love. The later romances were almost certainly written, like Lope's, around actual events of love, but distinctively about the love of others around the poet, not of the poet himself. The device of hiding the identity of a lover behind a poetic mask was as common in the subgenre of the moriscos as it was in the romances pastoriles of the Golden

Age. Góngora perhaps used the *romance morisco* as an alternative to the pastoral; in a similar way he used the *romance rústico* as a rejection of it.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1 R. Ball, Góngora's parodies of literary convention, 2 vols, PhD dissertation (Yale University, 1976), University microfilms, Ann Arbor, p.257.

2 Alonso, Góngora y el Polifemo, I, p.106-07.

3 J. L. Alborg, Historia de la literatura española, 4 vols, 2nd edition (Madrid, Gredos, 1974), II, 'Época barroca', p.542-47.

4 As note 2 above.

5 Examples of this are found in Cancionero de romances sin año (Antwerp, 1547-1550), and Segunda parte de la silva de romances (Saragossa, 1550). Both include many romances fronterizos.

6 The Romancero general (Madrid, 1600), contains something over two hundred romances moriscos, the majority of which are positively dreary. However, this only serves to prove the extent of the genre's popularity.

7 This was an Aragonese version. The first Castilian appearance was in the 1562 edition of Jorge de Montemayor's La Diana (Valladolid). A further edition was found in the Inventario of Antonio Villegas (Medina del Campo, 1565). See K. Whinnom, 'The Relationship of the 3 texts of "El Abencerraje"', MLR, 54 (1959), 507-17.

8 Ramón Menéndez Pidal reconstructed the epic from fragments of the chronicles and ballads which referred to the historical events.

9 Carreño's dating follows that in Chacón.

10 Carreño, Romances, introduction, p.47:

'Las coordenaciones temáticas de "Aquel rayo de la guerra", que da pie al ciclo de Abenzulema, coinciden con los rasgos más característicos del género:'.

11 Carrasco Urgoiti, El moro de Granada en la literatura, PhD thesis (Madrid, Revista de Occidente, 1956).

12 Jammes, Études..., p.385-86.

13 Durán, Colección de romances, 4 vols, 1849-51.

14 J. Millé y Giménez, Sobre la génesis del Quijote, Cervantes, Lope, Góngora, el 'Romancero General', el 'Entremés de los romances' (Barcelona, 1930), p.55.

Millé y Giménez tends, in this work, to attribute autobiographical proof to every romance written by Góngora, especially in terms of his 'rivalry' with Lope de Vega, or his love affairs, even when evidence is extremely slight.

15 See also my detailed analysis of number 16, 'Entre los sueltos caballos', to follow.

16 Études..., p.387:

> En 1586 déjà, le romance 'Ilustre ciudad famosa' tout entier dédié à Grenade, marque un progrés intéressant. Ce n'est pas que cette composition constitue un chef-d'oeuvre, tant s'en faut; du point de vue formel elle est même inférieure au romance d'Abenzulema: le souci d'exalter toutes les splendeurs architecturales de Grenade, de saluer tous ses souvenirs historiques, de dresser un panorama complet de la ville et de ses environs, se répercute fâcheusement sur les dimensions de L'oeuvre (256 vers) et sur sa structure, souvent monotone et énumérative.

17 This is interesting because Chacón dates 'Servía en Orán al rey' at 1587 and 'Entre los sueltos caballos' at 1585.

18 Antonio Carreño's edition of Góngora's romances includes the Chacón text and adds the Vicuña in 'bastardilla', p.143-48.

19 A. E. Sloman, 'The two versions of Góngora's 'Entre los sueltos caballos'', RFE, 44 (1961), 435-41.

20 Sloman, p.440.

21 Sloman, p.441.

22 The sense of the quotation is:

> C'est qu'en effet ils se rattachent l'un et l'autre ['Servía en Orán al rey' and 'Entre los sueltos caballos'] à une source littéraire précise, l'histoire d'Abindarráez et de Jarifa....Cette parenté a bien été sentie par le continuateur de Góngora, qui a ajouté une fin heureuse au romance pour le rapprocher encore un peu plus de l'histoire d'Abindarráez et de Jarifa. Études..., p. 379.

23 Études..., p.377-81. My criticism of this will be made clear later. López Estrada edition of El Abencerraje (Madrid, Cátedra, 1980),:

> ...la edición Vicuña prosigue completando la anécdota de forma que se corresponde con el episodio inicial del Abencerraje.

He prints this to show its correspondence to it and 'porque se atiene mejor al argumento del Abencerraje'.

24 Góngora y el Polifemo, II, p.28.

25 Jammes, Études..., p.377-81. Also:

Entre los sueltos caballos	Servía en Orán al rey
de los vencidos Cenetes	un español...
(1-2)	(1-2)
.....	.....
aquel español de Orán	Trescientos Cenetes eran
un suelto caballo prende.	de este rebato la causa.
(5-6)	(9-10)

26 Jammes then notes that the figure of the Spaniard is the same in both romances, as is the combat with the Zeneta. Études..., p.379 and note 9.

27 Alonso, p.29.

28 El Abencerraje, López Estrada edition (Madrid, Cátedra, 1980).

29 Jammes also links this with 'Servía en Orán al rey' which he considers to be an example of Rodrigo de Narváez's affair with a married woman. Little evidence exists for this.

30 For example:

Después que Vellido Dolfos
aquel traydor afamado

in Cancionero de romances. 1550, edited by A. Rodríguez-Moñino, p.215.

31 El Abencerraje, p.110-111.

The only example I can think of for two people being upon one horse is in the story of the rescue of Melisendra by Gaiferos.

32 El Abencerraje, p.111.

33 El Abencerraje, p.111.

34 See B. Vincent and A. Domínguez Ortiz, Historia de los moriscos: Vida y tragedia de una minoría (Madrid, Revista de Occidente, 1978), p.232,:

> El éxodo de los granadinos dio nuevo impulso a la piratería, a la vez como medio de vida y como expresión de odio al cristiano. Fue la conjunción de esta agresividad islámica en Berbería y la expresión turca en el mediterráneo lo que hizo que el problema tomara en el siglo XVI caracteres de suma gravedad....Las costas de Berbería no distaban mucho de ser también una tierra de nadie; los que representaban la autoridad teórica del sultán dejaban a los corsarios actuar con toda libertad a cambio de una participación en el botín, constituido, principalmente, por cautivos, que suministraban mano de obra y eran luego objeto de cuantiosos rescates.

35 El Abencerraje, p.112-113.

36 El Abencerraje, p.116.

37 Carreño notes that the Melionese 'habitan en el valle Meliona y Benaróz, entre Orán y Tremecén'. Most interestingly, 'Tenían se por descendientes de los árabes expulsados de España' - a further twist of the Moor's knife perhaps? P.146, note 52.

38 El Abencerraje, p.117-18.

39 Alemany y Selfa: p.581-82.

30 For example:

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38 El Abencerraje, p.117-18.

39 Alemany y Selfa: p.581-82.

se toma muchas veces por la licencia exorbitante, desenvoltura y desverguenza de los que abusan de la verdadera libertad....CERV. Quix. tom. 2. cap. 22. Mucho más dañan a las honras de las mugeres las desenvolturas y libertades públicas, que las maldades secretas.

40 El Abencerraje, p.116-17.

41 El Abencerraje, p.116-17, note 29:

En esta parte la alusión mitológica se hace directa, y el moro, al contemplar la hermosura de ella, recuerda la fábula de Sálmacis y Hermafrodito (tambien perteneciente al mencionado libro IV de las Metamorfosis,...), tan conocida: esta niña se enamoro de Hermafrodito, que se bañaba en la fuente que ella presidía, por la gran belleza de este hijo de Hermes y Afrodita, y pidió a los dioses que fundiesen sus dos cuerpos en uno solo. La fábula había sido traducido por Juan de Mena.... Hermafrodito recibía también los nombres de Androgino (por sus dos naturalezas) y Troco (probablemente asociado de manera confusa con trocar "cambiar")...Abindarráez quiere solo ser Troco con la esperanza de que el despierte algún amor en Jarifa.

42 El Abencerraje, p.121-22.

43 El Abencerraje, p.122:

'Déjame, pues, cristiano, consolar entre mis suspiros, y no los juzgues a flaqueza, pues lo fuera muy mayor tener ánimo para sufrir tan riguroso trance.'

44 El Abencerraje, p.122:

'Abindarráez, quiero que veas que puede más mi virtud que tu ruin fortuna. Si tu me prometes como caballero de volver a mi prisión dentro de tercero día yo te daré libertad para que sigas tu camino....'

45 El Abencerraje, p.137. Letter from Rodrigo de Narváez to Jarifa:

'Los caballos y armas rescibo yo para ayudarle a defender de sus enemigos. Y si en enviarme el oro se mostró caballero generoso, en rescebirlo yo paresciera cobdicioso mercader; yo os sirvo con ello en pago de la merced que me hicistes en serviros de mí en mi castillo. Y también, señora, yo no acostumbro robar damas, sino servirlas y hon honrarlas.'

Y con esto les volvió a enviar las doblas....

46 El Abencerraje, p.194.

47 There are still several parts of this romance about which I am uneasy. The fact that both use the same horse troubles me, as does (in the later part) the fact that the español asks the Moor to come back to see him (ll.99-100). The español has a strange attitude towards his captive and his motive for releasing him is not really clear.

48 In Actas del VI° congreso de la A.I.H. (Toronto, 1977), p.90-93.

49 Ball, Parodies..., I, p.272.

50 The cycle of romances written around the characters of Gazul and Zaida have been studied and found to be a series of events recounted from his life with Elena Osorio.

51 Millé y Giménez, Genésis..., p.59-60.

Of 'Desde un alto mirador' he says:

Este romance se refiere también, según parece, al duque don Antonio:

> Porque tienes el pensamiento
> en un príncipe aldeano,
> que en las riberas del Tormes
> es noble alcaide afamado. (RG 1600 IV f.182)

No creemos, ni mucho menos, casual las circunstancias de que ambas composiciones se hallen la una a continuación de la otra en la parte VI del Romancero general: lo mismo ocurre en el caso de 'Ensíllenme el potro rucio', y en el de 'Ah, mis señores poetas' y algunas de sus expresiones coinciden....

52 Ball says that this poem is not related to Lope's even if Millé y Giménez over-zealously tries to make it so.

53 One of the terms used by Ball to categorize parody within his thesis.

54 Ball, Parodies..., I, p.319.

55 Luis Rosales, El sentimiento del desengaño en la poesía barroca (Madrid, 1966), p.39.

56 Rosales, p.37.

57 Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Romancero hispánico, II, p.135.

58 Camamis, p.31.

59 Lope de Vega's novela Guzmán el Bravo

comedia Las Batuecas del Duque de Alba

Cervantes' Los tratos de Argel

'The captive's tale' in Don Quijote

El amante liberal

Calderón's comedia El José de las mujeres.

60 E. Churton, Góngora..., I, p.55-56.

61 Camamis, p.47.

62 Camamis, p.46:

> Por regla general, en los romances fronterizos del siglo XV, el tema de Granada y las relaciones entre moros y cristianos aparece en su imagen mas superficial e idealizado. Sin embargo, a medida que avanzaba el siglo XVI, con la creciente amenaza del imperio otomán y la exasperación de los problemas de los moriscos, surgió un romancero nuevo que se daba cuenta de que había cristianos 'no airosamente triunfales ni caballerescamente acogidos, que yacían en mazmorras enemigas y remaban aherrojados a galeras contrarias'.

63 Camamis, p.48.

64 Jammes, Études..., p.381.

65 Again, although not named, there is a suggestion that

> Dragut, who died in 1560, is the pirate 'corsario
>
> de tres bajeles' of 'Entre los sueltos caballos'.

65a G. Sobejano, El epiteto de la lírica española (Madrid, Gredos, 1970).

66 Garcilaso de la Vega, Cancion V, stanza 7;

> Hablo de aquel cativo
> de quien tener se debe mas cuidado
> que 'stá muriendo vivo
> al remo condenado
> en la concha de Venus amarrado.

in Poesías castellanas completas, edited by

E. L. Rivers (Madrid, Castália, 1972), p.95.

67 See note to this in the Carreño edition of the Romances,

p.39-40, and also Cervantes, El amante liberal in Novelas ejemplares, edited by M. S. Altolaguirre (Madrid, Novelas y cuentos, 1973), II,:

> Pero la ingrata fortuna, no cansada de maltratarme, ordenó que estando desde lo más alto de la isla puesta a la guarda una centinela de los turcos, bien dentro a la mar, descubrió seis velas latinas, y entendió, como fue verdad, que debia ser o la escuadra de Malta, o algunas de las de Sicilia. Bajó corriendo a dar la nueva, y en un pensamiento se embarcaron los turcos que estaban en tierra, cuál guisando de comer, cuál lavando su ropa; y zarpando con no vista presteza dieron al agua los remos y al viento las velas, y puestas las proas en Berbería, en menos de dos horas perdieron de vista las galeras; y así, cubiertos con la isla y con la noche, que venía cerca, se aseguraron del miedo que habían cobrado.

68 Line 37 holds the sense of 'tiempo' as both 'time' and 'weather'.

69 Camamis, p.48.

70 C. M. Vega Carney, 'Los romances de cautivos y los romances moriscos gongorinos: semejanzas y diferencias', Romance Notes, 19 (1978), 62-66, p.64.

71 Vega Carney, p.64.

72 Jammes, Études..., p.383:

> Cette association de l'amour et de l'eau constitue, nous ne tarderons pas à le voir, l'un des thèmes favoris de Góngora...'.

73 A cycle of romances moriscos is suggested by Jammes, Carrasco and Alborg.

74 These are two of the main arguments of Vega Carney's article, see note 70 above.

75 Jammes, Études..., p.381-82:

> La présence de ce refrain donne au second romance un caractère lyrique encore plus accentué qui met en relief, une fois de plus, la tendance constante chez Góngora à réduire au minimum la part des éléments narratifs, presque toujours limitée à de brèves allusions.

76 Jammes, Études..., p.266-68.

77 Jammes, Études..., p.384.

78 Rosales, El sentimiento..., p.38:

> La cuenca del Mediterráneo era un peligro: nadie podía tener en ella seguridad; inseguras las aguas, inseguras las playas, inseguros sus pueblos ribereños. La costa atlántica también era un peligro, pero mucho menor. El retorno del soldado al hogar, la tornaboda de los amantes o el viaje de negocios del mercader se podían convertir, en cualquier momento, en el más aflictivo cautiverio, por lo cual reflejan siempre estos romances un temor pálido y elemental. En su expresión, suavizada por el recuerdo de los romances moriscos, se busca más la precisión que la belleza:.

79 Góngora wrote one other romance of the 'español de Orán' ('Entre los sueltos caballos'), but its theme is different to that of the romance under discussion.

80 P. Alzieu, R.Jammes, Y.Lissorgues, editors of Floresta de poesías eróticas del siglo de oro (Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 1975), example no 24, p.35.

> Aquel llegar de presto y abrazalla,
> aquel ponerse a fuerza él y ella,
> aquel cruzar sus piernas con las della,
> y aquel poder él mas y deriballa;
>
> aquel caer debajo y él sobre ella,
> y ella cobrirse y él arregazalla,
> aquel tomar la lanza y embocalla,
> y aquel porfiar dél hasta metella;...etc.
>
> (my italics).

81 Alzieu et al., example no 97, p.197.

> Señora, no me fastidia...
> Si al potro el ijar no bate
> acicate,
> y a la yegua que más vuela,
> espuela.
> y a la mula que más rúa
> púa,
> a ser lerda se habitúa;
> y lo mismo es la mujer,
> si no la bate al correr
> acicate, espuela o púa.

82 Alzieu et al., no 98, p. 198:

Al son del rumor sabroso...
con condición que volvamos
a la parte do salimos,
que pues allí nos perdimos
allí cobrarnos me agrada....

also no 97, p. 197:

'¿Quién os engañó, señor?'
...la mísera paciente
con la candela en la mano.

Hicisteis una salida.

83 Alzieu et al., p.191:

¿Quién os engañó, señor,
en aceptar desafío
donde el premio es el honor,
sin fuerza, talle ni brío
para batalla de amor?

84 Alzieu et al., no 43 (attributed to Quevedo):

A consentir al fin en su porfía
vino una dama con su enamorado,
porque su nariz había juzgado
que tanto a buena cuenta metería.

Mas al revés salió su profecía
porque él tenía poco, ella sobrado,
de suerte que él quedaba tan holgado
que ni sabía si entraba o si salía....

85 Carmen Vega Carney, p.63-64:

A pesar de que Menéndez Pidal consideró como dos grupos diferentes a los romances moriscos y de cautivos, resume su clasificación con la siguiente explicación: para él los romances de cautivos poseen cierta 'sobriedad y carácter de realidad', ausentes en el romance morisco, y que éste, en cambio, goza de cierta 'brillantez y colorido' que se perdía en el de cautivos. María Soledad Carrasco y Robert Jammes sugieren que tanto los romances moriscos como los de cautivos caen bajo una misma categoría. Jammes considera, que ambos se derivan de una 'fuente de inspiración común y constituyen en realidad un mismo ciclo'. Dámaso Alonso al comentar brevemente sobre los romances moriscos cita como ejemplo a 'Amarrado al duro banco', romance precisamente uno de los más representativos del romance de cautivo: difiere radicalmente del romance morisco en cuanto a forma, tema y uso de los recursos estilísticos. Juan Luis Alborg, al escribir en torno a los romances moriscos, se limita a darnos la

descripción que hace Dámaso Alonso de ellos y enumera de nuevo como ejemplo, 'Amarrado...'.... Esta constante confusión, opinamos, surge de lo poco conocidos y difundidos que son los romances gongorinos en general. Con la excepción de los romances estudiados por Dámaso Alonso, y otros consagrados por la tradición popular, la gran mayoría de los romances gongorinos, ya sean de cautivos, venatórios, piscatórios o moriscos son conocidos por un grupo muy limitado de estudiosos.

86 R. Goldberg, 'Un modo de subsistencia del romancero nuevo: Romances de Góngora y de Lope de Vega en bailes del siglo de oro', Bulletin Hispanique, 72, (1970), 56-95.

87 G. Emmons, 'The historical and literary perspective of the "Romances moriscos novelescos"', Hispania, 44 (1961), 254-259.

88 Emmons, p.256.

89 Emmons, p.259, note 17.

90 Vega Carney, p.64-65.

91 D. Chaffee, 'The endings of Góngora's "Servía en Orán al rey"', BHS, 59 (1982), 15-20.

92 The texts she looks at are:

Chacón manuscript

VIENNA - ms.10313 of Nationalbibliothek (Hespelt)

MADRID - ms.4127 of Biblioteca Nacional (Millé)

NAPLES - Biblioteca Brancacciana (Foulché-Delbosc)

BADAJOZ - Biblioteca Provincial (Rodríguez-Moñino).

93 E. M. Wilson and J. Sage, Poesía lírica en las obras dramáticas de Calderón (London, 1964), p.126:

DON GUTIERRE;

En este medio (aquí entra
aquella cita pasada
de amor; que siendo mi vida
novela, ya le hace falta;
que novela sin amor
es como cuerpo sin alma)
puse los ojos en una
bien que pobre, ilustre dama,

tan discreta como hermosa;
pero no, como se canta,
puedo proseguir diciendo:
"Tan amante como amada";.

94 Baltasar Gracián, Agudeza y arte de ingenio, edited by E. Correa Calderón, 2 vols (Madrid, Castalia, 1969), I, Discurso X, 'De las semejanzas conceptuosas', p.129-30:

La contraposición siempre fue gran realce de toda sutileza, y aquí de la semejanza, porque hacen agradable armonía entre sí dos de ellas con su antítesis. Don Luis de Góngora:

Espuela de honor le pica
y freno de amor le para;
No salir es cobardía,
ingratitud es dejalla.

En el mismo término asimilado suele hallarse ya la artificiosa contradicción, y el saberla aplica bien al sujeto, es sutileza suma.

I, Discurso XXIV, p.242:

'De los conceptos por una propuesta extravagante, y de la razón que se da de la paradoja.'

A más del encarecimiento se suele doblar al artificio, añadiendo y mezclando otras especies de agudeza. Declaró don Luis de Góngora la exageración, por una agradable correspondencia:

Bien podéis salir desnudo
pues mi llanto no os ablanda,
que tenéis de acero el pecho
y no habéis menester armas.

95 Vega Carney, p.65.

96 See Garcilaso de la Vega, soneto XVII:

La noche clara para mi es escura
la dulce compañía amarga y dura,
y dura campo de batalla el lecho.

and Petrarch:

E duro campo di bataglia il letto.

97 The following lines are those which are not, according to Chacón, Góngora's, but are needed to complete the sense of the story which breaks off after:

...Mi señora
tan dulce como enojada.

98 E. M. Wilson's section on Spanish literature in Eos, an enquiry into the theme of lovers' meetings and partings at dawn in poetry, edited by A. T. Hatto (The Hague, Mouton, 1965).

99 C. S. Lewis, The allegory of Love (Oxford, 1936, repr. 1977), p.2:

> The lover is always abject. Obedience to his lady's lightest wish, however whimsical, and silent acquiescence in her rebukes, however unjust are the only virtues he dares to claim. There is a service of love closely modelled on the service which a feudal vassal owes to his lord. The lover is the lady's 'man'. He addresses her as midons, which etymologically represents not 'my lady' but 'my lord'. The whole attitude has veen rightly described as 'a feudalisation of love'.

100 Corominas' entry for Dueño/Dueña:

> Comp. la advertencia de Valdés 'dizen mi dueño por decir mi amo o mi señor, y aunque sea buen vocablo para dezir: Adonde no stá mi dueño, allí stá su duelo, y Dado de ruin, a su dueño parece, no es bueno para usarlo en aquella manera de hablar', Dial. de la leng. l
> lat vg. DŎMINUS lat. DŎMĪNUS
> arab. dū
> No parece...ser arabismo sino, como nota Menéndez Pidal (Poesía Árabe...), debido a una interdicción linguística, la aplicación del masculino dueño a una mujer, que es común en el español clásico,... probablemente para evitar el mal sentido que habría tomado dueña en el lenguaje amoroso.

in vol.II, p.202.

101 R. Menéndez Pidal, Poesía árabe y poesía europea, 5th edition (Madrid, Austral, 1963), p.60-61:

> En Aben Házam, el amante es servidor de su amada, a la cual llama sayyidi, 'mi señor', o mawláya, 'mi dueño', en masculino, no en femenino, según el hábito corriente en la poesía árabe de usar el masculino para designar al ser amado, la mujer amada, expresiones que es imposible no relacionar con el masculino midons, usado por los trovadores en vez de madomna.

Menéndez Pidal adds that this is not European in origin -

no implica, como el servicio feudal, fidelidad y auxilio mutuo entre señor y vasallo, sino sumisión de siervo a una señora despótica e ingrata

and in a note he adds:

El uso español de decir mi dueño y dueño mío a la amada no tiene que ver con la práctica provenzal, pues no es propio sólo del lenguaje amoroso, sino general: 'Mencía, ¿sois vos el dueño de esta casa ' Calderón....Este uso epiceno de dueño procede de que dueña vino a ser una interdicción lingüística, debido a la antipatía por las dueñas o sirvientas que tenían fama de viejas, feas y gruñosas; 'el vituperioso y abatido género dueñesco', que decía Cervantes.

102 Chacón (in Carreño, p.182, notes to lines 41-52):

Estos dos últimos quartetes son ajenos, en lugar de otro seis o siete suyos, que no han podido hallar.

103 Her final remarks, particularly on the Badajoz variant,

maintain a degree of caution, and rightly so.

104 Badajoz variant:

el galan que atentamente
se la mira escucha y ama
le responde mi senora
tan dulce quanto enojada
no lloren ojos ermosos
que aquesas lagrimas bastan
a borrar mis pensamientos
y a borrar mis esperancas
y pues con onrra y amor
conbiene que quede y baya
baya a los moros el cuerpo
y quede con bos el alma
solo una gracia os pido
que me sea uestra gracia
en las batallas escudo
y en las victorias güirnalda
dadme vestra bendicion
y permitidme que salga
al rrebato en vestro nonbre
y en vestro nonbre conbata.
que de no bolver a Oran
sin victoria o sin el alma
este braço os lo promete
y adios mi bien que me llaman.

(Reproduced from Chaffee's article).

105 Carreño, Romances, p.444.

106 Jammes, Études... p.391.

107 D. K. Loughran, 'Góngora's Romance 77 and the venatic motif', BHS, 51 (1974), 125-36, p.125-26.

108 Since 'Según vuelan por el agua', no.49, 1602.

109 Jammes, Études..., p.391.

110 For Jammes the courtliness of the poem 'expliquerait une certaine froideur de l'ensemble', p.391.

111 Carreño, Romances, p.444.

112 ...en las termas de su abuelo
el sudor depone casto 11.23-24.

113 Alemany y Selfa, Vocabulario..., entry for Xarifa, p.550.

114 J. M. Alín, El cancionero español de tipo tradicional (Madrid, Taurus, 1968), p.206-07.

J. G. Cummins (editor), The Spanish Traditional Lyric (Oxford, Pergamon, 1977), p.60-64.

115 Alemany y Selfa, p.207:

> Nombre poético de mujer; aunque Góngora aquí y también el Romancero general dan este nombre a una mora, aseguramos que tal nombre no es árabe, no tampoco el correspondiente masculino Celindos de que habla el romance 146 del mismo romancero (Romance no.245, Rivadeneyra, tomo 10, p.129.).

116 'Escribir en un laúd' fr. fig. Hacerle sonar.

Alemany y Selfa, p.569.

117 Loughran, p.125-26.

118 Loughran, p.125, elaborates on this:

> At once a man-shunning huntress disdainful of her unintentional human prey and an enchantress who wounds with the bow of her eyebrow and the arrow of her glance, she is an enigma to men and a source of mild irritation to Cupid.

119 p.391-96.

120 Ovid, Metamorphoses, with translation by F. J. Miller, 2 vols (London, Loeb Classical Library, 1916, repr. 1946), II, book IX, p.51-61.

121 Ovid, Metamorphoses, II, book IX, p.35-51.

122 Alín, El cancionero español..., p.206-07.

CHAPTER VI

THE *ROMANCES RÚSTICOS*

It is well known that Góngora was not inclined to follow slavishly the literary examples of his predecessors or contemporaries. Whilst Lope de Vega and others turned from the overworked *romance morisco* to the *romance pastoril* as a new disguise for accounts of their amorous pursuits, Góngora resisted. In spite of the rapid rise of the pastoral genre in both prose and poetry Góngora did not compose a single *romance pastoril* in the strict sense. Instead his love for and appreciation of the countryside and simple village people finds its best expression in a handful of *romances rústicos*. These differ from the pastoral in that Góngora does not set out to create an ideal existence which could be viewed in contrast to the real world. His rustic scenes and figures are very much part of the real world and express all the gaiety of traditional *fiestas*. In the serious examples of this poetry (burlesque *romances* pose different sets of values) the world Góngora describes is not an Arcadia where love is no more than kisses. His lovers are flesh and blood with all the desires and embarrassments of the

flesh, and they do not spend their time as idle shepherds singing as they watch over their flocks. Instead they are hard-working souls: reapers, cowherds, women fetching water, but ones who know how to make the best of the few holidays each year, dancing, singing, and playing their rustic instruments. It is this aspect of love and enjoyment of life which I shall first examine.

The popular tradition of Spain, unlike that of other European countries, does not include a corpus of dancing songs, and individual examples of such songs are few. Nevertheless Góngora's personal taste for music and the spectacle of country dancing is strongly reflected in several of his romances rústicos, 'En el baile del ejido', 'En los pinares de Júcar' and 'Apeóse el caballero'. I will deal with these three in particular immediately, referring to other examples of romances bailables, 'Guarda corderos, zagala' and 'Que se nos va la Pascua, mozas' later in this study. These are structured in such a way that they can be divided into at least three sections each followed by a refrain or chorus, as if it were to be danced or sung. Certain of Góngora's romances were indeed set to music and appeared in cancioneros musicales; for example 'En el baile del ejido' is found in the Cancionero de Munich,[1] and Rita Goldberg[2] speculates on how it would be interesting to discover if the music available for the dance forms of the poetry was in fact the original. Later dance forms of some of Góngora's romances appear to have been adapted from the original versions by later authors as the fashion for romances bailables evolved. Góngora does not seem to have written his romances as dances in the first instance, although they convey an exciting sense of celebration, and later authors

were inspired by both their authentic atmosphere and by their adaptability. Goldberg finds 'En el baile del ejido' in manuscript MS.16292 in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid as the 'Baile de los Corales'.[3] Others present in the same volume are 'Guarda corderos, zagala' ('Baile de las zagalas'), 'En un pastoral albergue' ('Baile del pastoral albergue') and 'Servía en Orán el rey' ('Baile de Servía en Orán al rey'). In general these bailes had very varied themes, but Goldberg observes:

> Como echará de ver el lector... al aprovechar un romance en la composición se nota una marcada preferencia por los romances de asunto pastoril.[4]

The text of Góngora's romance is only used as a point of departure, as if the writer of the baile needed a popular and well-known poem and/or its music in order to attract an audience. The popularity of some of these romances bailables was tremendous and like many romances nuevos they were often to become regarded as 'traditional'.

Góngora is known to have written only for private circulation in the first instance, unlike Lope de Vega, who wrote for public approval and whose works were published almost as soon as they had been completed. Knowing this, it is not very likely that he would have changed his habits where the romance bailable was concerned and have begun to write for the delight of the general public. What seems more acceptable is that he may indeed have written certain bailes teatrales for possible performance at court by his actor and musician friends. He did, after all, write other dramatic pieces in Las firmezas de Isabel and El doctor Carlino. His use of named characters already stereotypic in the rustic pasos of Lope de Rueda and Juan del

Encina are some small proof of his knowledge of and interest in such things. Menga, Blas, Gil, 'el alcalde' and 'el cura' are all theatrical personages with a traceable history, and Góngora's careful structuring and interplay of narrative, dialogue and refrain, often little more than a 'letra para cantar', convey a clear sense of popular theatre.

To look more deeply at this aspect of the romances rústicos I shall now examine three of the romances rústicos mentioned above, beginning with romance number 60, 'En el baile del ejido'.

* * * * *

'En el baile del ejido' is a fine illustrative example of the romance teatral or bailable.[5] The plot is simple and complete: a young girl loses her beads and they are found again after a general search. The characters are Menga, the Mayor's nephew (unnamed), the priest, Antón, Bartolillo and Gil Perales, all individualized and each with an equally important role in the story. We also note the presence of onlookers, perhaps the remainder of the villagers, who comment on the conduct of their neighbours in the estribillos, much as a Greek theatrical chorus might have done. The plot or action is divided into three equal 'acts'. The first tells how Menga, unaccustomed to dancing, loses her coral beads. In the second everyone searches for these beads until Bartolillo says he has found them. It is a false alarm. In 'Act three' Antón finds them at last and the play ends with a song to the sound of Gil's psaltery, and very likely with a dance too.[6] Each 'act' in its turn is followed by a short chorus, which acts as an interlude.

The romance makes no profound comment on moral, political or historic issues. There is neither reference to particular places nor to actual people. Both names and landscape are stylized in 'cette campagne de fantaisie qui est à la mode à cette époque'.[7] Jammes regards this as a totally conventional poem in which the characters aid the conformity of the poem:[8]

> Tous ces personnages sont vus avec une ironie gracieuse et bien veillante, car le ton du romance est plaisant d'un bout a l'autre. Cet humour...était pour Góngora la seule manière possible d'aborder un thème rebattu et conventionnel, en un mot de se conformer à une mode.

Jammes does not, however, indicate the 'mode' he has in mind. Certainly the romance itself became very popular: Lope de Vega copies it twice, once in Los pastores de Belén and again in Los ponces de Barcelona (1617), and it is true that one derives the same kind of amusement watching this puppet show as that of Maese Pedro in Cervantes's Don Quijote.[9] However, it does not fit into any of the conventions of traditional images and motifs. It is not as simple as at first it appears, for Góngora counters every motif of a traditional nature with a learned or courtly one.

The first quatrain is composed of traditional elements and popular formulas:

> En el baile del ejido,
> (¡nunca Menga fuera al baile!)
> perdió sus corales Menga
> el disanto por la tarde. 11.1-4.

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Events which take place on, or on the eve of, a saint's day are common to the traditional lyric, and the most favoured day of all for popular poetry is 'el día de San Juan', Midsummer day, 24 June. Here the saint's day is not identifiable. It could be at any time during the year, but the possibility of Góngora intending it to be St John's day cannot be ruled out precisely because he has not deemed it necessary to give further qualification. The most celebrated festival of popular poetry, always the first to spring to mind, is very likely the one that Góngora intended. Even if it were not, as each region (even each village) in Spain is inclined to observe its own particular fiesta, not too great a harm will be done if we imagine it to be the día de San Juan, for the activities of any holiday are much the same throughout the peninsula.

José María Alín tells us that 'la noche de San Juan era, desde antiguo, noche de amor, heredado de ritos paganos, noche propicia para el encuentro de los amantes'.[10] An Asturian copla 'se refiere al disanto de la Virgen de la Salud que se celebra en el pueblo de Carreña. Tiene la misma intención picaresca aquella otra que se canta en Luarca en la Romería del día de San Roque'.[11] Correas also supplies a refrán referring to that day:

La mañana de San Juan, mozas, vamos a coger rosas

where picking roses is used either as a metaphor or as an excuse for meeting a lover.[12] The saint's day is linked with this idea in many traditional lyrics and the associations cannot be otherwise here. The very mention of a festival introduces connotations of love, and coupled with a sense of loss - 'perdió sus corales, Menga' - the idea of the girl's first

sexual encounter is not merely hinted at but in fact made explicit. In his Lírica hispánica Martínez Torner gives two versions of popular lyrics which use exactly this device to suggest the same thing:[13]

> Cuando salí de Cabrales
> lloraba una cabraliega
> porque perdió sus corales
> en la Salud de Carreña.
> .....
> En el campo de San Roque
> perdió yo una liga verde.
> Adiós campo de San Roque
> donde las ligas se pierden.

Just how complex this initial quatrain is does not become apparent on first reading. In a few lines Góngora has already introduced numerous ideas in a traditional vein. Menga has lost her coral beads; a simple enough statement, except that the coral beads are laden with significance because of their associations with a sexual encounter, the bright red colour of the beads suggesting the loss of other more prized possessions. It appears that in popular poetry all references to coral are similarly erotic in intention.[14]

Menga loses her coral beads in the afternoon of the saint's day. References to the eve and the morning of the day are common but I have not yet encountered another instance of 'por la tarde' in traditional sources. There are several possible interpretations for this probably deliberate deviation from the norm. Góngora intends to show that this is a slightly different affair. It is not an encounter of which everyone knows yet to which they turn a blind eye. Menga is desperate to conceal her love affair from others. She may, therefore, be covering up for herself by saying that she lost the beads whilst dancing in the afternoon on the common, when

in fact they were lost earlier in the day, or on the previous evening. Yet Góngora's addition of the bracketed remark - (¡nunca Menga fuera al baile!) - is a subtle note to the reader or listener that she is not to be believed. These are the words spoken in whispers by the village gossips. If the poet knows this, surely others in the village must also know. The parentheses and exclamations are the contradiction of someone who knows better. Menga did not lose her corales 'el disanto por la tarde' at all, yet the observation is deliberately ignored. It would seem that most of the villagers have not missed her presence at the baile, and have accepted her word. Thus the narrative continues:

> Dicen que se los dio en ferias,
> tres o cuatro días antes,
> el Píramo de su aldea,
> el sobrino del Alcalde. 11.5-8.

Rumour has it that the coral beads were a gift from the Mayor's nephew, who is not named, and why else should he have given her such a precious little gift other than as a token of his love?

Gifts of love were common, often consisting of a belt or a ribbon, and this cinta or cordón was a sign of being in love and often classed as an item of a woman's jewellery. Furthermore, Alín tells us how it was a sign of virginity and if someone were to take it away in traditional lyrics then that was a sure indication of love-making.[15] No-one has taken away Menga's beads; she has quite foolishly lost them through her own carelessness, hence her remorse as described in the third quatrain of the romance.

So far I have been solely concerned with the rustic elements of the poem, but as I pointed out earlier, these are

usually contrasted with more learned ideas. The second quatrain introduces us to Pyramus, a Babylonian youth who loved Thisbe. Through his thoughtless and rash behaviour both he and Thisbe came to their tragic deaths on the night of their elopement before their love had been consummated. 'El Píramo de su aldea' suggest the relationship between Menga and the Mayor's nephew, who is sure to be an eligible bachelor in the village. The classical allusions contain the idea of the boy-next-door with whom Menga must have secretly arranged a love-tryst. Góngora puts his own value on the gift Menga receives:

> Los corales no tenían
> los extremos que ella hace, 11.9-10

not sumptous pearls, maybe not even real coral - 'Porque de cristal fueren' - but glass beads. He suggests that she is making rather a fuss about such worthless objects. Obviously, then, for her to cry over them, the beads must have stored some special sentimental value for Menga. As they are made of glass her tears over their loss imitate them - 'lloró Menga cristales'. Her crystal tears are not at all like the pearl-like droplets from the eyes of a Petrarchan lady. Góngora implies that they suit her station in life, yet the onlookers of her village who see her rustic beauty as a jewel in itself, look on the tears as far more precious, in spite of their foolish waste:

> ¿Quién oyó, zagales,
> desperdicios tales,
> que derrame perlas
> quien perdió corales? 11.13-15.

The estribillo lilts along naturally and as rapidly as a traditional 'letra para cantar'. Its similarity to a refrán is emphasized by the use of a genuine proverb in the following quatrain. These lines describe how the worth of the beads is exaggerated as the search for them widens and Góngora introduces the refrán 'un loco ciento hace'.[16] Alberto Sánchez alludes to the colloquial nature of the phrase in his article on the comic elements of Góngora's poetry.[17] A humorous picture is evoked of the priest donning his spectacles to help find the coral necklace, with the logical reasoning that if they can make the red-lettered titles of the books of learned canon law appear legible, then they will help him spot the redness of the string of tiny beads:

> Ya el cura se prevenía
> de los antojos que saben,
> en rúbricas coloradas,
> hacer la letra más grande. ll.21-24.

It seems as though the whole village has joined the search when suddenly:

> ...albricias pide a gritos
> Bartolillo con donaire,
> por haber hallado a Menga
> en sus labios los corales. ll.25-28.

Cheeky little Bartolo has come up with a witty solution here and one wherein Góngora cleverly juxtaposes learned poetic ideas with traditional culture. Bartolillo announces his find 'con donaire' - a word frequently used in courtly literature to denote elegance and grace.[18] In courtly poetry the lover frequently envisaged jewels in the lady's countenance, for example, sapphires for her eyes, rubies in her lips (see line 31 and notice that coral also became a standing epithet

for lips). Menga is not a lady of high birth and so her lips appear to Bartolillo as dark pink corals rather than red rubies. He pays her a somewhat reduced courtly compliment whilst at the same time teasing her. Donaire can also be taken to mean 'el chiste y gracia que se dice para atraer las voluntades de los que escuchan' (Diccionario de autoridades). With his little joke he is drawing attention to Menga's guilty secret, for he has divined that her corals are on her lips. The sexual innuendo here is not difficult to perceive, although it is clearer in this version where the missing objects are referred to as 'los corales' rather than 'sus corales' (Chacón) where the Spanish preference is for the definite article rather than the possessive adjective when referring to parts of the body.

The form of the estribillo remains the same although the words change to suit the context of the poem - (In Jammes's article on the poem he shows how in Chacón the estribillo remains the same throughout the romance, thereby proving the inauthenticity of that version, because one can see that the first refrain is incompatible with later parts of the poem other than that which immediately follows.):

> ¿Quién oyó, zagales,
> venturas iguales,
> que halle rubíes
> quien perdió corales? 11.34-36.

The search resumes in the final 'act', of which the first quatrain gives further information as to how Menga came to lose her beads on the ejido:

> que yendo Menga a lavarse,
> se los dejó entre la juncia
> del arroyo de los sauces. 11.34-36.

She was bathing in a stream, hidden from view by the reeds and the trailing weeping-willow branches. The sauces resemble those along the banks of the Tagus where the nymphs of Garcilaso's poetry bathed - here is Menga in another semi-classical role - but the stream and her bathing in it hold far deeper symbolic and erotic meaning in popular tradition.

Cummins explains how the spring or river is the erotic element in the traditional lyric, with the riverbank as the lovers' meeting place, where the girl would go to wash. 'Vañarse, vale algunas vezes lavarse, aunque sea en el río o en el mar' says Covarrubias and this according to Alín was a common acception of 'lavar'. Alín finds further proof of the erotic value of baths and fountains. Washing shirts tended to have much the same symbolic function in traditional poetry as the two lovers bathing together:

> En la fuente del rosel
> lavan la niña y el doncel.

Examples are so numerous it is not necessary to list more than one here, although the whole idea is made absolutely explicit by Correas who gives the refrán:

> La que del baño viene,
> bien sabe lo que quiere

and adds in parentheses 'Juntarse con el varón'.[19]

The name of Menga's lover is not divulged, yet one young man knew where to look for the missing beads:

> Los ojos fueron de Antón
> los que descubrieron antes
> en la yerba los claveles,
> y en la arena los granates, 11.37-40.

It seems that he has done all this before (antes), having found carnations (symbolizing female love, pure love, and admiration) in the grass[20] and garnets (corresponding to carnations and also symbolizing loyalty and constancy) in the sand.[21] To an outsider looking on, all this now seems too coincidental. Garnets, another form of jewel, would be easy to lose in sand, but carnations in the long grass would not seem to merit such a search. Why is Menga so careless in losing all these lovely cerise-coloured objects anyway?

I think the answer lies in Antón's eyes. In traditional poetry the eyes are often used as a synecdoche for the lover. Góngora himself has used the motif in 'La más bella niña' to marvellous effect. Antón, then, is none other than Menga's lover who has become expert at finding out her 'prendas' in all the unlikely places where she is careless, or wanton, enough to cast them, by the stream, on the beach, in the long grass.

The mystery is solved. Gil Perales, who is perhaps a little in love with Menga (he calls her 'la que causa mis males') sees her blush ('viendo purpurear/las rojas prendas del ángel', that is in this instance her cheeks) when Antón finds the coral beads, and probably guesses her secret as he sings to the sound of his psalter:

¡Albricias, zagales!

The villagers ask:

¿De qué tan alegre vienes?

to which he replies:

> De que haber hallado los bienes
> de la que causa mis males. ll.45-48.

Not only are the beads found but Gil knows that Antón is her 'bien', her lover. Gil wooes her from afar in his courtly love songs, but it is Antón who has done both the faking and the finding of the jewels.

In this gentle, lilting romance Góngora has created a masterpiece both formally and through the interaction of two separate traditions, in particular in the masterly way in which he handles the subject of lost virginity with supreme metaphorical delicacy, due to his familiarity with and facility in the use of traditional symbol and motif.

* * * * *

A second baile is the romance rústico of 1603 'En los pinares de Júcar', inspired by Góngora's visit in that year (2 to 6 May) to Cuenca whilst on ecclesiastical business, but not necessarily written at that exact time. It is neither a direct description of the event nor a narrative, but a stylized reconstruction of it which combines reality with both popular and courtly traditions in a 'complex allusiveness without pedantry'.[22] Góngora's dancers are serranas, mountain girls, come into town for the local spring festivities and that they are serranas, rather than simply niñas or mozas, increases the allusive range of the romance. The genre of the serranilla was originally of a courtly nature, describing the encounter of a knight with a beautiful and sensual mountain girl. Góngora uses this native Spanish myth (which is not related to the French pastourelle) effectively in a sonnet of 1594, 'Descaminado, enfermo, peregrino...' (De un caminante enfermo que se enamoro donde fue hospedado), when a new vogue for the poetry of the serrana was beginning. However, between the

courtly serranillas of the Marqués de Santillana and Góngora's sonnet the genre became assimilated into popular tradition and verse forms, as here in the romance. Góngora shows his indebtedness to Santillana in the language he uses in the first few lines, giving a precise location for the action he describes:

> En los pinares de Júcar
> vi bailar unas serranas, ll.1-2.

All but the most stylized of the Marqués de Santillana's serranillas are localized, usually in the first stanza:[23]

Seranilla I
> Serranillas de Moncayo
> Dios vos dé buen año entero.

Seranilla II
> Por todos estos pinares
> nin en el val de la Gamella
> non vi serrana más bella
> que Menga de Nançanares.

However, this romance does not just hark back to previous traditions. It also looks forward. Jammes sees it as a unique composition; because of its geographic precision he says that it passes from the abstract to the concrete and is important in that it is:[24]

> ...la première prefiguration des Solitudes...et c'est à travers la première Solitude qu'il faut relire, pour en sentir la parlée véritable et comprendre ce qu'il représente pour son auteur: la découverte d'un monde poétique encore inexploré.

In his enthusiasm for the romance's picturesque vision Jammes goes on to state that this is an absolute poetic innovation:[25]

> Pour la première fois dans sa poésie - et peut être dans toute la poésie du Siècle d'Or - le monde rural n'est vu ni en réaction contre le monde des Cours, ni à travers des souvenirs littéraires, mais directement.

C. Colin Smith in his article on the 'serranas de Cuenca' sees the romance in a different light and would argue with Jammes that it in fact expresses 'a very Renaissance sensibility, learned allusions to mythology and to architecture, to the classical gold of Arabia and so on'.[26] Rather than a direct reaction to the scene before him, Smith considers Góngora's romance to be a 'triumph of art rather than realism'. Smith's study of the romance is extremely thorough, dealing with the unity between the lines, conceits, tones, speakers and so on. He describes how the romance undergoes a whole theatrical range of voices, from a scene-setting to a narrative, to the musings of the author, actual descriptive passages with comments from the onlookers ('¡Qué bien bailan las serranas!') and the song of the dancers themselves. He examines the types of language used, its musical effects and the subtle variation of verb tenses which 'eternalize' the action at first and end by creating 'a deliberate vagueness, an ensueño, a refusal to decide about the nature of time...'.

In point of fact, Smith leaves little to be added about the romance. He reaffirms Góngora's skilful method of composition which includes elements from mythology, literature and traditional sources whilst still retaining their own unique characteristics. The alternation of narrative and lyric elements create, as in 'En el baile del ejido', a sense that the scene must take place before our eyes, vividly and dramatically. It is yet another of Góngora's romances which was later adapted into a baile.[27]

* * * * *

The last baile teatral with which I shall deal, another romance rústico often later called the Baile de la Colmeneruela, written in 1610, is 'Apeóse el caballero'.[28] It was probably edited as a baile because, although it does not mention dancing at all, like 'En los pinares de Júcar' and 'En el baile del ejido' the narrative is alternated with lyrical sections and the poem is once again divided into three 'mouvements symétriques'. Jammes outlines the divisions:

> ...le chevalier aperçoit la 'colmeneruela' qui brave le dieu Amour; le chevalier aborde la 'colmeneruela' tandis que Cupidon la blesse d'une flèche; le chevalier enlève la 'colmeneruela', tout à fait soumise après que Cupidon lui ait décoché une seconde flèche.

He calls this romance a baile teatral, and I agree that it is a more dramatic work than an ordinary ring dance. Indeed it does not seem at all 'bailable' in its strict sense but the divisions given by Jammes could easily serve as truncated 'acts' separated by the common chorus or dance often found in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European drama.[29] The characters; caballero, young girl and vigilant mother, are also fairly stereotypic. Jammes has already outlined the story whose subject he classes as a favourite of Góngora - 'l'éveil d'une jeune fille a l'amour' - a theme from popular poetry with many variants where nobles and peasants are concerned. The division of the poem into 'acts' is surprisingly regular. All three stanzas consist of twenty-four lines and rhyme independantly in assonances -a, -e and -i, in that order. The first and final 'letras para cantar' or lyrical refrains are both villancicos consisting of seven lines

rhyming ABBACCA followed by a short cabeza and then repeated.

The central 'letra' has only a five-line refrain rhyming BABBB, with a couplet for a cabeza and a four-line retorno, and it is this central 'letra' which bears, in miniature, the argument of the whole composition.

The first stanza opens out onto a landscape, not only rich and fertile visually but also teeming with rich allusiveness. The tale begins as the caballero, as if just entered on stage, dismounts from his horse. '(Víspera era de San Juan)' seems to be added as an afterthought, although in reality it is precisely this authorial/narratorial comment which fires the reader's imagination, as we have seen already how this particular saint's day is of erotic importance in the popular lyric tradition. It was the time when a blind eye was turned to extramarital sexual relations, especially amongst the younger members of the community. The midsummer festival was often a time when prospective lovers were sought.[30] Yet St John's Eve was an even richer source of imaginative wealth, even in our own English literature we find not just love, but magic and the supernatural taking over at midsummer. An example is Shakespeare's A Midsummer Night's Dream, and another in Spanish traditional poetry tells of the strange things that happened to Conde Arnaldos:[31]

> ¡Quién hubiese tal ventura - sobre las aguas del mar,
> como hubo el conde Arnaldos - la mañana de San Juan!

From the outset we expect the extraordinary to take place and that some kind of fairy tale or love affair will ensue. As it is that special festival of fertility the whole of the landscape has become endowed with fruitfulness, so that even

the cold crag below which the caballero has stopped 'es madre de perlas ya,/tan liberal, aunque dura' (line 4).

From the rock a spring issues. Here in this landscape the water gives life and fecundity not only to the earth but to all those who come into contact with it - 'que al más fatigado, más/le sirve en fuente de plata/desatado su cristal'. The tired caballero can refresh himself at the cool spring; water is the supreme fertility symbol and as he drinks he is able to quench not only his thirst in actuality, but also, potentially, his desire. This hard rural landscape seems somehow receptive to the young nobleman, producing its own finery with which to impress him. The crag itself can bring forth perlas and serves up the crystal clear water in what looks like a silver basin at its base. The water behaves as courtiers or servants would, so that once 'lisonjeado del agua' the caballero asks the sun not to be quite so strong as he rests in the shade of a myrtle tree. The myrtle is another symbol of fertility, this time a classical one, for in mythology it is the tree dedicated to Venus. Venus was loved by Mars, the god of war, and it is with the words of a truce that the caballero takes his refuge from the relentless hot sun:

> pide al Sol, ya que no paz,
> templadas treguas al menos, ll.10-11

and he reciprocates by hanging up his arms like a courtly knight in the Venus-tree which offers him protection against both her fiery lover and the sun.

The myrtle was not only regarded as symbolic within classical mythology; traditional lore too saw it as symbolic

of love and fertility, but in a pure, virginal sense. The tree was by many considered sacred to the Virgin Mary and was used to form the bridal virgin's crown. As such it indicates potential fecundity, as yet untouched, and it is under the boughs of such a tree that the caballero first sets eyes on the girl approaching from the beehive. It is interesting to note exactly what he sees:

> muchos siglos de hermosura
> en pocos años de edad,
> con un cántaro una niña,
> digo una perla oriental,
> arracada de su aldea,
> si no lo es de la beldad. 11.15-20.

Firstly he views her beauty as classical - 'muchos siglos de hermosura' but in one so young that she is no more than a child carrying an earthenware pitcher. The classical and traditional symbols are so intertwined that it is hard for the caballero to make up his mind. A country girl with a jug or an oriental pearl? Yet it is the narrator who describes her as a gem, and as a precious jewel from her village. The poet adds that if she is neither of these things then at the very least she is the jewel of beauty itself, and this must be just what the caballero sees - pure beauty. Classicism and rusticity intermingle in the girl and in the language Góngora uses to depict her:

> con un cántaro una niña

is an unassuming phrase, whilst the familiar 'A sino B' construction gives a learned twist.

The girl is indeed a vision, carrying the pitcher with her. She comes from the direction of the beehive. Her task

is a simple one - to fetch water for some function of tending the bees, which according to Vergil's Georgics (chapter 4) need fresh water near their hives. The idea of the girl as a beekeeper is important to the sense of the poem, as are the bees themselves. The little creatures were related by myth and folklore to both the Earth Mother and the Virgin Mary, and again the ideas of fertility and nourishment are suggested by the production of sweet and abundant honey. The girl must be a virgin for Plutarch tells how only girls who were chaste could walk through a swarm of bees without being stung. The cántaro is confirmation of this. In traditional poetry the girl who goes to the river guards the fragility of her pitcher as she would her virginity. As we know, the river is often the meeting place of lovers. Sometimes the pitcher gets broken and in such instances this denotes the loss of the girl's purity too.

The girl's occupation of beekeeper is also of note because it would prompt someone who was well-acquainted with popular poetry to anticipate her surrender to love. Pedro de Moncayo gives this romance:

Bésome el colmeneruelo
y a la miel me supo el beso.
Acaso un día salí
por un muy fresco pinar,
y lleguéme al colmenar
que estava cerca de allí;
y un colmeneruelo vi,
muy bonito, aunque trabiesso
y a la miel me supo el beso.
De ventura nos topamos
y a abraçar se me ha atrevido
y fue el beso tal que ha sido
en la cayda de entrambos;
y este dulçor quedamos
yo captiva, y el más preso.
Y a la miel me supo el beso.

En una fuente nos vimos
de arboleda muy cercada,
donde fue muy regalada
el tiempo que allí estuuimos;
y de quanto allí hizimos,
tan solamente confiesso
que a la miel me supo el beso.

Here, though the beekeeper is of the feminine gender, the associated ideas persist. The colmeneruela is happy and, unaware of the caballero's presence, she sings a very provocative song as she approaches the stream. The song serves as the villancico to end the first 'act'. It is directly related to the activity in which she is engaged, as were many traditional rustic songs which assisted with the rhythmic actions of making hay or washing clothes. It is a challenge to the god of love (the classical aspects of which I shall discuss later), and could survive as a song independantly of the rest of the romance:

Al campo te desafía
la colmeneruela 11.25-26.

The first two lines, like those of many traditional lyrics, set the scene. She entices the god of love out onto an implied battlefield:

ven, Amor, si eres Dios, y vuela.

She subconsciously follows on her actions and words from those of the caballero in the use of epithets of war. He has laid down his arms and settled himself quietly beneath the Venus-tree, indicating that he acquiesces to the power of the god and goddess of love. In contrast the colmeneruela makes a stand. Calling Love out onto the battlefield she sends him a challenge which taunts his validity as a god.[32] If he is a

god he must fly to her 'por vida mía', a colloquial expression but one which the little winged god may be willing to take as a literal statement. The picture she gives of herself is:

> ...de un cantarillo armada,
> en la estacada
> mi libertad te espera cada día. ll.29-31.

She is presently free from all ties but expects at any time to be assailed by love, so she entices him now whilst she is prepared for the attack, armed with her earthenware cántaro, protecting the symbol of her chastity. She explains how it will protect her:

> Este cántaro que ves
> será contra tu fiereza
> morrión en la cabeza,
> y embrázandole, pavés. ll.32-35.

Hugged tightly to her breast, as she lifts, fills and empties it, the pitcher will act as a shield, and as she carries it on her head it will serve as a helmet.[33] She believes herself to be invincible and repeats her challenge, again taunting the god:

> Si ya tu arrogancia es
> la que solía,
> al campo te desafía
> la colmeneruela, ll.36-39.

The colmeneruela's song appears as a charming ditty within the villancico metre; just the kind of song a maiden might sing. However, as in a dramatic work, the implications are already more than clear to the onlooker. The caballero, as yet unnoticed by her, now makes his presence known and the

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winged god answers the challenge:

> Saludóla el Caballero,
> cuyo sobresalto al pie
> grillos le puso de yelo,
> y yendo a limallos él,
> Amor, que hace donaire
> del más templado arnés,
> embebida ya en el arco
> una saeta cruel, 11.45-52.

Here Góngora combines both courtly and traditional ideas at once, in the motif of the encounter between noble and peasant. I have already noted how the serranilla evolved from its original courtly lyric form into a more popular lyric tradition. The French pastourelle employed a similar motif. In poetic traditions throughout Europe the meeting of the noble and the peasant are common. Spain can provide examples in the romancero viejo of the noble lady and the rustic shepherd, and of the gentle knight and village maiden.[34] Jammes points out that in the majority of cases the girl is willing to give in to the nobleman and even begs him to take her away almost immediately. This is not so here, but it is, as Jammes says, a rare case, and one that shows how Góngora adapts his source materials to suit his own personal taste and intention. The noble person here, as in the 1421 romance, is the first to make a move. Jumping to his feet he calls out to the girl and in this instant becomes the prisoner of love in true courtly fashion, hobbled by shackles of ice for his approach has instantly kindled the colmeneruela's disdain. She is not well-disposed towards love and her cold reaction prevents his continuing until Love intervenes, taking up the challenge set by the girl herself. Thus fettered[35] the caballero is unable to move ahead, so Love attempts to make things easier for him

by softening the imaginary bond, as Love:

> ...que hace donaire
> del más bien templado arnés 11.49-50

is wont to do, with a cruel arrow. With his mock war-gear he begins an assault on the colmeneruela avoiding her cántaro-shield altogether yet burying an arrow deeply in her:

> perdona al pavés de barro,
> no a la que embraza el pavés,
> escondiéndole un arpón
> donde las plumas se ven. 11.53-56.

The caballero now approaches the girl who blushes furiously and he hails her again. She is confronted by a fine sight:

> Ella, que sobre diamantes
> tremolar plumajes ve,
> y brillar espuelas de oro, 11.61-63.

The richness of his attire, coupled with the potency of Cupid's dart combine so that:

> dulce le miró y cortés.
> Lo lindo, al fin, lo luciente,
> si la saeta no fue,
> esta lisonja afianza
> que ella escucha sin desdén: 11.64-68.

In spite of her initial determination to stand fast against love, the odds are against her. She can no longer pretend to the icy disdain with which a few moments before she looked on the caballero, and instead listens, completely disarmed ('sin desdén') to his song, which forms the second letra.

The caballero's words are directly addressed to her as the:

Colmenera de ojos bellos
y de labios de clavel, 11.69-70.

These are two of the standard features of a beautiful girl, yet both are very apt for he is pierced to the heart by her glances and the beauty of her eyes and searches for the sweetness on her lips:

¿qué hará aquel
que halla flechas en aquéllos
cuando en estos busca miel? 11.71-73.

His song refers back to hers when he sings:

Colmeneruela animosa,
contra el hijo de la Diosa, 11.76-77.

He knows that she has claimed to be in opposition to Love but asks how he can help:

si ve tus ojos divinos
y esos dos claveles finos, 11.78-79

except to be struck by their beauty and sweetness, and to fall hopelessly in love with her.

The final 'act' of the romance begins with Cupid seeking vengeance, from the stronghold of his mother's tree, on the angelic country girl who dared to challenge him. As if lying in ambush, he fires a second arrow into his victim:

...que con silbo sutil
las plumas de la primera
las tiñe de carmesí. 11.90-92.

She can no longer resist as the nobleman takes her hand and places a ring upon it. The richness of this gesture is described in stylized and colourful terms; the ruby as a token

of his heart stands out brightly against her marble skin, unusually white for a peasant girl, but which singles her out as a special beauty. What began as a folktale with all the suggestions of an illicit sexual encounter is beginning to change its nature, to become with each line more and more like a fairytale. The ruby ring which the caballero places on her finger represents the love and passion of his heart. Rubies can also stand for beauty and are a sign of royalty. The caballero takes on more of the character of a fairytale prince when we know also that the ruby 'bestows respect and authority and gives peace and serenity; thus it protects chastity'.[36] All of this leads to the conclusion that the caballero has very noble intentions towards the girl, giving the ring as a token of the purity of his love for her. He knows from her song that she is, and up until now, intended to remain chaste, and he appears to respect her wishes.

Cupid, however, has other ideas. His two arrows have worked to their utmost on the colmeneruela, so that now:

> ...fuego y ardid
> está fomentando en ella, 11.98-99.

She is next to speak, although the words are not her own for 'Amor...le hace decir así'. She is forced to use the initial words of a well-known romance viejo in her answer to the nobleman's proposal:

> "Tiempo es, el Caballero,
> tiempo es de andar de aquí,
> que tengo la madre brava,
> y el veros será mi fin." 11.101-104.

The first two lines of this call to mind the following:[37]

Tiempo es, el caballero, - tiempo es de andar de aquí
que no puedo andar en pie, - ni el emperador servir,
que me crece la barriga - y se me acorta el vestir.

The significance of this is that the original romance once again deals with the question of nobles and commoners. The infanta of the romance viejo urges the courtier who is the father of her unborn child to take her away. He reveals to her that although he has many estates and riches and his mother is the queen of France, his father is in fact a peasant. The infanta is appalled but cannot deny his riches. The romance tells us how the subject of illicit love between rich and poor was in fact a commonplace one. Further significance for Góngora's romance [illegible] the colmeneruela perhaps anticipates finding herself in such a situation, therefore revealing the hidden sexual desire instilled in her by Cupid's darts. At last she takes up the old tradition and asks to be taken away, with the excuse that she fears her mother's wrath.

With this we are introduced to a third character, again a traditional lyric figure; the vigilant mother who corresponds to the emperador or to the jealous husband of the bella malmaridada. In all cases these characters are set up as obstacles to the happiness of the couple and to the consummation of their love. The caballero, in spite of his noble intentions, does not need to be prompted and cheerfully whisks his girl away on the back of his horse:

Él, contento, fía su robo
de las ancas de un rocín,
y ella, amante ya, su fuga
del Caballero gentil. 11.105-08.

As they ride off into the distance the narrator gives a concluding letra. Cupid must be the one left to tell the girl's mother:

> que una abeja le lleva la flor
> a otro mejor colmenar; ll.111-12

but that she should have no cause for concern because:

> ...granjeó galán yerno
> cuando perdió bella hija.
> El rubí de una sortija
> se lo podrá asegurar, ll.117-20.

The message for the mother is that her daughter will suffer no dishonour in this elopement so therefore:

> Decidle que no se aflija,
> y perdone al llanto tierno, ll.115-16.

Yet in spite of these reassurances the mother must feel some kind of remorse and disgrace, for the words of the final letra are not simply erotic but decidedly pornographic in their explicit description of what is taking place:

> picar, picar,
> que cerquita está el lugar. ll.113-14.

The lovers' destination is close at hand and the caballero spurs on his horse in order to get there as quickly as possible. The pricking of the horse's sides sets up a chain of associations. In the new 'beehive' there will be a bee who presumably will sting the colmeneruela now that she has discarded her chastity. Correas supplies us with several refranes which bear out these associations:

'Pikar la moska' for 'tomar priesa o enamorarse'

'Pikame, Pedro, i io ke lo kiero'

'Pikame, Pedro, ke no me ve mi madre'

and others. Alemany y Selfa gives the most unambiguous examples:

> Picar : fig. y en sentido pornográfico 'picado' puede entenderse ya en la acepción de sentir comezón, excitar o estimular, y así de picado quiere decir de excitado por el apetito venéreo.

Whilst revealing some sympathy and assuring the mother that her daughter has not been stolen away by a ruffian, Cupid also makes the reality of the situation clear to her - her daughter is about to be seduced. There is no way of ignoring the erotic nature of the refrán in the final chorus of this romance teatral.

Once again in this romance Góngora combines both traditional and learned (classical, mythological and literary) elements as skilfully as he does in acknowledged classics and more well-known romances ('En un pastoral albergue', etc.). Traditional themes and motifs that we have come across before; the baños/fuente de amor, St John's day as a time for lovers' meetings, form the background for other, more literary ideas, such as the war of love and the sumptous array of colour. Red (clavel, rubí, carmesí, rosicler), white (perlas, cristal, marfil, diamante, plata) and gold (oro, miel, abeja) are the predominant colours, imparting richness and exoticism to the romance. The organisation of the language is both traditional and learned, with no sense of awkwardness. Constructions such as Góngora's celebrated 'A si no B' are found at lines 20 and 66. In places the syntax is fairly complex (lines 9-12) and

elsewhere (for example in the letras) it follows a lilting and natural movement to the point of using exact lines from the lyrical romances viejos (lines 101-04). In the first two letras para cantar sections traditional methods of composition are a deceptive camouflage for exceptionally courtly ideas (the war of love and the lover's compliment). Góngora again maintains an almost perfect synthesis of the courtly and the rustic throughout this delicate romance.

* * * * *

Two romances from the years 1613 and 1614 have peasants as their characters, but they are not the traditional shepherds of the pastoral. The first involves cowherds, a favourably-viewed and respected occupation in classical literature (scorned only by later Western Europeans), probably because of the sacred roles of bulls and cows in classical rite and mythology. It is logical that in Spain too, where the fighting bull is of prime importance among beasts, that cowherds should share the same type of respect as that given in Greek and Roman bucolic (from βουκόλος - guardian of cattle) poetry. The second romance turns on a dialogue between Love and a reaper. The reaper is a figure who often appears in songs of the cereal harvest, usually a temporarily migrant labourer. This reaper, however, is not sweating or ragged as the many described in popular lyrics, but instead is idealized in the same way as the herdsmen of Vergil's Georgics, here almost to the point of heavenly beauty, 'un serafín labrador'.

Again this poem (number 71) combines two distinct traditions. Góngora writes a dialogue for two characters, similar

to those in medieval semi-allegorical or moral poetry like Death and the Maiden. (In England we have the False Knight on the road, otherwise known as the Devil, and a child.) At the same time he pieces together a series of popular refranes to form the words of the dialogue. The composition flows smoothly, with no attempt to convey too complex an idea. The short, lyrical introduction (lines 1-20) describes the young man in extremely courtly terms, enhancing his physical attractiveness:

> Bien que de su blanca frente
> ventecillo adulador,
> si aljófares suda el nácar,
> aljófares le enjugó. 11.5-8.

Oddly enough, this idealized youth does not sport the healthy, rustic suntan of those who work on the land:

> ¿qué no puede una beldad,
> si la tierra dos a dos
> émulos lilios aborta
> del pie que los engendro,..? 11.13-16.

His gait is graceful and harmonious.

The dialogue between Love and the reaper is introduced by both stylistic and metrical changes. Rhyme also changes from assonance to consonantal rhyme. None of the short refrains are mentioned in Correas which suggests that they may not be traditional. If they are Góngora's inventions then he has skilfully and beautifully recreated the rhythm and atmosphere of the refranero in them. Love proclaims his power when the youth asks him what he is up to:

> ...A segar
> más almas con el mirar
> que tú con la hoz espigas. 11.22-24.

The reaper wishes to return, when the harvest is done, to his own village as freely as he left it, neither leaving broken hearts behind nor enamoured himself of some young girl he might meet. Love's reply to his wish to remain a free spirit, is phrased as a question: '¿Tienes alma?'. The segador believes so:

> ¿Pues qué aguardas, Segador,
> si yo, con ser el Amor,
> sus armas temo enemigas? ll.30-32.

Love, by his nature, fears no man and if the segador still has a soul then love will still be able to steal it away. The repetition of the refranes emphasizes and reminds him of this.

Romance number 71 is extremely subtle and elegant, and atmospherically quiet - a low-voiced conversation between two travellers on the same road. This is in stark contrast to the loud hulloing of the cowherds of romance number 68. Their shouts and whistles are emphasized by the punctuation and exclamatory phrasing of the first quatrain:

> ¡Cuántos silbos, cuántas voces
> la nava oyó de Zuheros,
> sentidas bien de sus valles,
> guardadas mal de sus ecos!

The romance is set in a known location, an area renowned for the quality of the fighting bulls reared there, and around the valleys of which the shouts of the cowherds echo. These vaqueros are not at this moment tending their herds, but instead are in search of 'la hermosa', further described as:

> Cerrera, luciente hija
> del toro que pisa el cielo. ll.7-8.

This is a little mysterious. We cannot be sure at first whether they are in search of a beautiful strayed heifer or a beautiful girl. Her name indicates why the 'hermosa' has strayed for Cerrera means 'the one who wanders wild and untamed'.[38] She is the offspring of the bull 'que pisa el cielo', an odd and complex allusion which also appears in the first 12 lines of the Soledades and referring either to the constellation of Taurus, which rises in the heavens from about 21 April (and therefore perhaps just indicating that she was born in spring), or to Jupiter who several times took on the guise of a bull in order to seduce nymphs and mortals. I am inclined to think that Góngora is referring to Jupiter here because he was the father of Venus. In her astronomical form Venus is a star,[39] a wandering star (la cerrera) appearing in the morning as Phosphorus and in the evening as Hesperus, and always as the brightest star in the heavens (luciente). The romance refers to a girl who is as beautiful and haughty as Venus the goddess of love. It was not unknown for girls to be referred to as 'novillas', even in the Bible the heifer is a metaphor for a young woman. Samson took a wife for her beauty above all and when she revealed a secret he had asked her to keep his reply to those who confronted him was:

> If ye had not plowed with my heifer, ye had
> not found out my riddle.
> (Judges chapter 14, v.18).

An onlooker seeks clarification of this and asks in the estribillo of the romance, '¿Qué buscades, vaqueros?'. They reply:

Una, ay, novilleja, una
que hiere con media luna
y mata con dos luceros. 11.10-12.
(Compare No 48, 11. 67-68)

This confirms all suspicion. Although a heifer's horns would provide the media luna of the song, there is here a deeper sense that the beauty described is more than that of a dumb animal. In metaphoric language, as we have seen, novilla stood for maiden and we often encounter in Góngora's poetry the girl whose arched eyebrow is like the half moon, a bow with which to fire darting glances at any prospective suitor, thereby wounding him. The unrequited love which leads to the lover's metaphorical death is initiated by her gaze and thus the maiden 'hiere con media luna/y mata con dos luceros' which are her brilliantly shining eyes, like the stars of morning a and evening.[40]

The second stanza tells how the vaqueros have searched in every nook and cranny of the landscape for the novilleja:

No contiene el bosque gruta,
ni tronco ha roído el tiempo
que no penetre el cuidado,
que no escudriñe el deseo. 11.13-16.

Their insistence is transformed into Perseverance personified - La diligencia - who instead of being hampered by rustic leather shoes and confined to the lower realms of the landscape, is speeded by the wind in which her feet are clad:

La diligencia, calzada,
en vez de abarcas, el viento, 11.17-18

in her search for the novilleja across the tops of the cloud-swathed hills:

los montes huella y las nubes,
turbantes de sus cabezos. ll.19-20.

What had begun as a raucous romance now settles down. Already there have been references to literary traditions, to Venus (in her natural guise as a star) and to the usual Petrarchan images of the lady's eyes and eyebrows as moon and stars. Now the complexity increases. In spite of its complex symbolism, the simple wording of the estribillo can be contrasted with the more elaborate syntax of the second stanza, which contains a favourite re-arrangement of syntax by Góngora; the Greek accusative:

La diligencia, calzada,
en vez de abarcas, el viento

would normally read: 'La diligencia calzada del viento, en vez de calzada de abarcas'. The words are not in the least commonplace - diligencia comes from the Latin diligentia,[41] whilst turbantes is an Arabic word.

After a repetition of the estribillo, the third stanza continues in similar syntactic vein. The rash and youthful lads want to smash the rocks up in their over-zealous search. If she does not hear their tender ('.) whistles she must either be deaf to them or in a narcotic trance:

Tan sorda piedad acusa
si rumiando, no, belenos,
la alcanzaron tantas voces
en la región del silencio. ll.29-30.

Góngora's use of the verb rumiar serves to remind us of the ambiguity of the female character in this romance. Deep in thought or in a trance, the word also reminds us of rumiant

grazing animals. The estribillo is repeated for a final time before the tone of the romance changes.

One cowherd, Gil, rushes in with the good news that he has seen the novilla. From shouts and whistles the cowherds instantly fall silent. The word goes round - '¡Quedo, ay, queditico, quedo!' - they must be silent as she is nearby. After the uproar of the search, crashing through woods and storming over hilltops the cowherds suddenly become softer and gentler in their approach as they near their destination. Stealth and caution are now needed in order not to startle the novilla. Gil explains that they will not be able to get to her by force of strength because she is protected by:

> Un no sé qué celestial,
> que tiene de oscuro y claro,
> para zafiro muy raro,
> muy azul para cristal, ll.41-44.

He does not know what it is that denies her to them but recognizes it as something supernatural, divine, bright and dark all at once. The sure-footed novilla wanders without fear behind a kind of diaphanous curtain, unperturbed as she grazes and drinks the dewdrops, her horns gilded by the May sunshine. Here is perhaps the most pastoral, idyllic scene to be found in any of Góngora's romances rústicos. It is still possible to follow the parallel of the young girl/novilla here. Where the heifer grazes, the maiden would be plucking flowers, secure in her innocence.

Both of the poems discussed here could easily be far more than simple rustic lines, written in an idle moment. Both segador and novilla are probably intended as poetic representations of known courtiers or society members of Góngora's

day. The segador, described in glowing, physically attractive detail, is thought to be a glamourized portrait of Gonzalo de Figueroa, written to persuade the young lady he loved to notice him.[42] The second romance is dedicated as a lisonja to Doña Elvira, daughter of a certain Señor Zuheros de Córdoba.[43] It is thought that the 'no sé qué celestial' stanza is no more than a description of the girl's father's house. The purpose of both poems seems to have been purely aristocratic, to be used as means of flattery or persuasion. '¡Cuántos silbos, cuántas voces!.' is a quite astoundingly complex romance whilst 'Al campo salió el estío' is shorter, plainer and in a sense more lyrical. If they were both written 'to order' then they skilfully reveal Góngora's ability to use that 'troubadour' tradition. The first romance discussed (number 71) must have been successful because of its delightful simplicity: the second (number 68) was probably less so because of its complexity and because the novilla/maiden analogy wears thin towards the end of the romance.

I now turn to two further romance rústicos which are in complete contrast with one another. Both are parodies of the pastoral mode, one early and one late, showing how diverse Góngora's methods within a single genre can be. In my own opinion it is the earlier of the two which proves most successful in its purpose.

* * * * *

A fine example of how Góngora converts the pastoral mode to suit the rustic lover he imagines is romance number 9 'En la pedregosa orilla', written in 1582. It is a burlesque romance written much as a 'recipe' for the pastoral but with less serious intentions. As with many true pastoral romances

its syntax is predictable although here it is, of course, deliberately so. It begins by parodying those hundreds of romances, both viejo and nuevo, beginning 'En/por/de la(s) orilla(s)/ribera(s) de X'.[44] The setting for the romance is of great interest. Pastoral poetry was, as we have seen, poetry of ideals; set in an Arcadian idyllic landscape where all was verde, florida and alegre, and where rivers flowed sacred and pure and crystalline, Góngora describes this landscape as an exactly antithetical one, in other words, just as the banks of the Guadalmellato actually are. This river runs from los Pedroches in Cordoba province to join the Guadalquivir near Alcolea.[45] There is nothing stylized and artistic about it. Its banks are rocky and barren (la pedregosa orilla) and its waters muddy (turbio). It is totally unpleasant and as a tributary of the Guadalquivir it adds only mud.

Here, in a barren landscape, where thoughts of love would be the furthest thing from most people's minds, Galayo guards his herd. Standing in the archtypal shepherd's pose, one hand resting on his crook, the other hand on top of that wrist, he watches over, not a flock of fat woolly sheep but 'unas flacas yeguas'. This is a deliberate assault on the pastoral lover. Normally, due to sleepless nights lost in thoughts of love, it is the shepherd himself who is described as 'flaco'. Here the sparse herd of cattle are a sorry lot whilst, though it is not stated, it is suggested that the herder is rather more robust than usual. Apart from this he is described as 'pastor pobre y sin abrigo'. Góngora takes clichéd ideas from other pastoral poems and puts them out of context to highlight their inherent absurdities. The lonely, forsaken 'pobre pastor' is here an

impecunious man (pastor pobre) rather than spiritually impoverished. He does not in fact have an 'abrigo', that is, not the usual shepherd's shelter, but here an overcoat, unless one may count the tattered old one he is wearing:

> ...sin abrigo
> para los yelos de mayo,
> no más de por estar roto
> desde el tronco a lo mas alto. ll.9-12.

This is plainly absurd. In Arcadia winter never comes, let alone that there should be frosts in May. The inhospitable landscape, inclement weather, and poverty of Galayo are all direct parodies of the pastoral norms.

The shepherdess with whom he has fallen in love is introduced at line 17:

> ...la linda Teresona,
> ninfa que siempre ha guardado
> orillas de Vecinguerra
> animales vidrïados; ll.17-20.

She is not, as it might at first appear, a gentle lady who tends idealized crystal animals by a riverbank. She is actually a fat, dirty peasant girl who has always had lice. Alemany y Selfa defines an 'animal vidrïado' as a:[46]

> Piojo, insecto anopluro, quizá
> aludiendo a la piel de este animal.

The Diccionario de autoridades adds that this animal 'se cría... del sudor, o grassa, o por la falta de limpieza'.[47] Little else needs to be said except perhaps in her defence, that she is:

> hija de padres que fueron
> pastores deste ganado, ll.21-22

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and therefore knows no better than to follow the family tradition. The sheer filth is emphasized by her origins, ridiculing here the pseudo-genealogies often found in pastoral poetry in mock-disguise of identity. Her parents are:

> el uno orilla de Esgueva,
> el otro orilla de Darro. ll.23-24.

Here Góngora is joking at the expense of the classics where nymphs are often the daughters of certain rivers or tributaries. The colloquial phrasing in fact suggests that her parents were themselves born on the banks of sewers.[48]

The nature of pastoral love was always the same. It was purely platonic. Beautiful, noble shepherds and shepherdesses spent their time gazing at each other, singing, dancing and in polite conversation. Kisses and caresses were occasionally exchanged in later examples, but further bodily contact was never indulged in. The ideal pastoral love was the preserve of the mind alone. Góngora does not give us true pastoral inhabitants of Arcadia; Galayo is too lusty, and Teresona only 'linda' rather than 'hermosa'. It seems that neither is their love up to the usual lofty standards. Galayo's love for Teresona is described:

> ...Galayo andaba
> tiesamente enamorado,
> lanzado del pecho ardiente
> regüeldos amartelados. ll.25-28.

His love is somewhat vulgar. The discomfort it causes him does not send out sighs from his burning breast but instead crude lovesick belches, a condition which appears more akin to severe heartburn or indigestion than to heartache or the

lover's malady of hereos. Furthermore, we are inclined to doubt the quality of his love. Shepherds are always proclaiming as they wander how deeply in love they are with their lady. Góngora chooses the vocabulary for this romance with absolute precision - 'tiesamente enamorado' meaning firmly or stubbornly in love, also carries the suggestion, and indecent one too, of 'tieso' as 'stiff' or 'rigid'. The mock solemnity of the lines:

> No siente tanto el desdén
> con que de ella era tratado,
> cuanto la terrible ausencia
> le comía medio lado, ll.29-32

can only be a cover-up for the acute sexual frustration he feels. It is the physical separation which is metaphorically 'eating him up'.

The romance continues as Góngora introduces two love conventions gleaned from pastoral literature and Renaissance literature in general: the love token and the lament. A lock of hair was often one of the most personal and therefore the most cherished gifts that a lover might receive. Petrarch, Sannazarro , and even Garcilaso in his first Eclogue write about them:[49]

> Tengo una parte aquí de tus cabellos
> Elisa, envueltos en un blanco paño,
> que nunca de mi seno se m'apartan. ll.352-54.

Galayo's lock of hair is in contrast:

> tan delicado y curioso,
> tan curioso y delicado,
> que si el cordón es tomiza,
> los cabellos son esparto.
> .....
> y en un papelón de estraza,
> habiéndole antes besado,
> le envuelve,... ll.36-40, 45-48.

There can be no comparison between Elisa's locks in a white cloth and Teresona's coarse, brittle hair like dried grass in a piece of brown paper. The mockery is emphasized by meaningless repetition at lines 36 and 37.[50]

Góngora is a cruel master. Not content with providing a single love token for ridicule, he gives Galayo a second, to make the point of his absurdity. The portrait, usually a fine miniature masterpiece, is here transmuted into a piece of rag daubed with an apothecary's old palette knife:

> ...en un pedazo de anjeo,
> no sin primor ni trabajo,
> con una espátula vieja
> se lo pintó un boticario. ll.49-52.

The ludicrous posturing of this rustic cowherd becomes almost unbearable when he begins his lament, as all good pastoral lovers, from Amadís to Polyphemus, are wont to do. He sings in 'tono romadizo' although we are not told why. We can only speculate that it may be because he has heard other singers do this and it is the proper way, he thinks, to go about singing,[51] or because he has such a thick rural accent,[52] or finally because he has perhaps caught cold through want of a decent overcoat. Some form of accompaniment is usually necessary for a love lament, a rabel, or a zampoña, perhaps. Galayo does not even have a bandurria, so instead he wallops a mortar with his fist. It is easy to imagine that the resultant sound must have been both deafening and horrible.

The song is addressed to the painting, instead of to Teresona, another idiotic mistake Galayo makes. He is also in the habit of total malapropism, using desabrida (insipid, surly, disagreeable) for desdeñosa (line 58) and menoscabo

or imperfección is replaced by mella (line 60). He resorts to total trivialization through silly popular jokes and phrases:

> la frente entre las dos sienes
> y los dientes en la boca; 11.63-64.

The lament, if it can indeed be classed as such, is absurd, trivial and conveys no sensitivity or emotion, only inanity. He professes to having performed the same crazy rituals as Amadís might have done:

> mirándolos (her eyes) me estaría
> toda la noche y el día
> comiendo turmas de tierra. 11.70-72.

Like the lovesick Polyphemus, Galayo ends his lament with a plea that she (and here he is only addressing the retrato) might look and see what a fine figure of a man he is. Are we prepared to believe him? Góngora has given no physical description of the cowherd, and we have only Galayo's word that he is 'rubio y zarco/como Dios hizo un candil' (lines 83-84). How can he be so sure of his irresistible attractiveness? He tells us 'ayer me miré en un charco'. To the reader/listener it is obvious that a muddy puddle must have provided as distorted an image of Galayo as the botched portait on the rag of Teresona. We cannot be certain even of this man's ability to recognize beauty. Even Polyphemus took to admiring himself in a pool. Suffice it to say that Góngora is suggesting a further absurdity, for in true pastoral poetry only the beautiful and youthful were really entitled to the delights of love. Galayo and Teresona have none of the credentials of the idealized shepherds and shepherdesses of pastoral literature, yet

by mocking their aspirations to be so involved, Góngora slyly undermines the whole tradition. If real herders and rustics cannot belong to this specialized world, how can noblemen and ladies-in-waiting aspire to it either?

This poem is a total burlesque of all the ideas and ideals concerned with the pastoral tradition, appearing at exactly the time when it was beginning to come into vogue as a genre within the romancero nuevo. Ball, as I have said, points out that it could equally well serve as a 'recipe' for serious pastoral poetry, and the format of Góngora's Fábula de Polifemo y Galatea draws very near to this in 1613. Later still, however, Góngora returns to ridicule the genre in another romance, 'Minguilla la siempre bella'.

* * * * *

Written in 1620, the romance 'Minguilla la siempre bella' has prompted mixed opinions on the part of scholars and critics. A poem of 112 lines, it is written in quatrains without strophic or stanzaic divisions and with no lyrical elements, (estribillos, dialogue, exclamatory phrases or refranes). In the introduction to his edition of the romances, Carreño finds that the romance is linked to a letrilla 'Ansares de Menga', also written in 1620, by its mythic correlations, select vocabulary, idealized female figure and 'lo escultórico de su forma'.[53] Generally he does not seem to dislike the romance which is in total opposition to other scholars. For Robert Jammes the romance 'est sans doute parmi les plus mauvaises qui soient tombées de la plume de Góngora'. On the other hand, the above-mentioned letrilla 'mérite d'être considérée comme l'un des chefs-d'oeuvre'.[54] He embarks upon a minor study of the

romance but nevertheless concludes:

> mais je ne m'explique pas autrement que Góngora ait conduit jusqu'au cent-douxième vers un romance qui sonnait faux dès le début.

It may at first appear to be a harsh judgement, yet Montesinos is of much the same, if not of an even more severe, mind:[55]

> Daríamos cualquier cosa por poder borrar este romance de la lista de los auténticos de don Luis, para poder decir siempre que no él, sino continuadores o discípulos que no lo entendían, frustraron las posibilidades del culteranismo.

Jammes also considers that it is unfinished, and judging by the adverse reactions to it, it was probably best left that way. What is, then, so galling about this short, yet extremely Baroque, poem?

F. Lázaro Carreter classes it as a Baroque romance and indeed it does contain highly learned and very carefully worked elements; for example, the allusion to Icarus, the Baroque epitome of ambition, in lines 13 to 20:

> Gil desde sus tiernos años
> aras le erigió devoto,
> humildemente celando
> tanto culto aun de sí propio.
> Profanólo alguna vez
> pensamiento que, amoroso,
> volando en cera atrevido
> nadó en desengaños loco.

J. H. Turner fully appreciates this allusion in his study of the myth of Icarus. He says:[56]

> In the romance 'Minguilla la siempre bella' (Mille, 84) Gil's love for the beautiful shepherdess is expressed in terms of clear though indirect allusions to the flight of Daedalus' son: (ll.13-20).

> In the context of a love between two people with such rustic names as Gil and Minguilla, the altars and rites of such an ideal love is created only so that it can be spoiled by the intrusion of a daring thought, the breaking of the spell of courtly love by the thought of profane, or physical, attraction. Gil's bold thought falls like Icarus, in this case the fall leads only to a swim in the nearby Tagus. In this context the reference to the world of Ovidian mythology is incongruous, gently mocking Gil's pretentions to courtly love while at the same time the juxtaposition Gil/Icarus must detract from the stature of the myth....

For Turner, Góngora's poetic genius becomes evident in the condensing of a passage from Ovid consisting of fifty-three lines to a mere, yet brilliant, five words:

> volando en cera atrevida/nadó.

Nevertheless this is, probably unfortunately so, one of the better moments of the <u>romance</u>. Later uses of classical allusion are less successful:

> porque sin cometer fuga,
> teatro hizo no corto
> aquel campo de un rigor
> que árbol es hoy de Apolo. 11.109-12.

This, the final stanza of the <u>romance</u>, with its allusion to Apollo's persistent amorous pursuit of Daphne, is of little help to our understanding or enjoyment of the other events in the poem. It is a resounding failure when compared with Góngora's use of the same mythological allusion in his sonnet 'A Dafne ya los brazos le crecían'.

Jammes may well be correct in thinking the <u>romance</u> 'inachevée'. Its purely narrative form lends nothing other than a mechanical procedure from one stanza to the next, and

when compared with the near-perfect structuring of earlier romances rústicos (in particular numbers 52, 62 and 60) the movement of the poem is disappointing and lacks all excitement. Often in these shorter compositions Góngora's metaphors are the linking elements and driving forces of each one, like the coral beads, the little heifer, water symbolism, and so on. Here he uses painfully contrived and overworked metaphors which do nothing to buoy up the structure of the romance:

> Nevó jazmines sobre él,
> tan desmentidos sus copos,
> que engañaran a la envidia,
> si él no les pusiera cobro. ll.61-64.

Furthermore, there is no lyrical framework to lighten the burden of these intense metaphors.

Written much later than all the other romances rústicos, 'Minguilla la siempre bella' seems something of a misfit in spite of the employment of rustic characters and landscapes. The ideas behind it are so unlike those in the other romances rústicos. In fact, its disfraz rústico is of a very thin kind; Jammes is certainly correct in believing it to be one written 'on demand':

> Il n'est pas inconcevable, aprés tout, que l'auteur ait été mis au pied du mur par ses amis de la Cour en 1620, comme il l'avait été en 1603, et qu'il ait voulu, une fois de plus, relever le défi; un défi que je formulerais ainsi raconter sur le mode rustique, mais en style récherché, les amours d'un courtisan qui avait torée sous les yeux de sa dame....

This, then, is not the first romance rústico to be written with an actual affair of the heart in mind. Like numbers 68 and 71, discussed earlier, it is written for persons at court, but is

much less enthusiastic; an entirely half-hearted attempt to produce a poem to order.

The poem is very Baroque, although in the least flattering sense of the word. It begins fairly easily with a description of Minguilla:

> ...la siempre bella,
> la que bailando en el corro,
> al blanco fecundo pie
> suceden claveles rojos; ll.1-4

yet continues:

> la que dulcemente abrevia,
> en los orbes de sus ojos,
> soles con flechas de luz,
> Cupidos con rayos de oro; ll.5-8.

There is something disturbingly mortal and physical in this reference, not to her eyes but to their sockets, or orbits, and the reversal of attributes in the second two lines of the quatrain only serves to emphasize the curious image. She is further described as:

> esta Deidad labradora
> de donde comienza arroyo
> a donde fenece río,
> Tajo la venera undosa. ll.9-12.

Her beauty is such that her fame has spread along the length of the Tagus. This is absurd in the case of a labradora in spite of her 'divinity'. Góngora does not convince us of her beauty and is asking too much from us if he wishes us to believe such things. F. Lázaro Carreter sees this trait - this 'pensar por contrastes' - as one of Góngora's most fundamental Baroque elements.[57] He does not find the vision of peasant girl as 'diosa' at all disturbing in spite of the

'desnivel emotivo' which it produces in lines 1 to 12 of the poem, because:

> inversamente, las deidades paganas se le conviertan en criaturas risibles y cómicas.

The effect of this is usually 'por un lado a embellecer a ultranza, y por otro, a denigrar, a despreciar, a escarnecer su escrúpulo'. Yet here the aspect of beautification seems to have become swamped by that less desirable side, to the point at which one wonders if, and sincerely hopes that, Góngora is again mocking his own style within the genre he is using. At this late stage in his poetic career it seems likely that he was taking the Baroque style to its limits whilst deriding the conventions of love poetry. If one agrees, with Jammes, that the poem was written solely upon request, then the excruciating poses adopted by Gil the lover can be ridiculed as any seventeenth-century reader would have ridiculed the medieval courtly lover. All the usual Petrarchan and neo-Platonic motifs are to be found here - eyes as suns, sighs, hearts and flowers - for example:

> sus zafiros celestiales
> volvió a un suspiro tan solo,
> como breve de cobarde,
> como indistinto de ronco. 11.29-32

and

> A los desvíos apela,
> partiendo en lo más remoto,
> con el céfiro suspiros,
> con el eco soliloquios. 11.77-80.

The countryside resounds to the sighs and Góngora goes to the very limit of decorum when he speaks of the ivy leaves on the

cottage wall as tiny, tremulous green hearts.:

> En las hojas de las hiedras
> a su muro dio glorioso
> cuantos corazones verdes
> palpitar hizo Favonio. ll.41-44.

A final clue that Góngora might indeed be presenting a parodistic version of a rustic lovers' tale is the reference to the legend of Pyramus and Thisbe:

> Buscándolo en vano al fin,
> imitar al babilonio
> ya quería, y en su espada
> buscar por la punta el pomo, ll.101-04.

Góngora never makes a serious reference to the lover Pyramus - he is always regarded as a booby. Gil's posturing is quite as bad as that of the Babylonian youth and we can only laugh at his foolishness. We are not to take either Gil, or any part of this romance, seriously.

* * * * *

Thus far it has been discovered that Góngora's romances rústicos do not follow a single formula. They do not stand still in time, but neither is the genre developed favourably. It seems that the early romance rústico was written in a genuine desire to write in a semi-pastoral mode without the feigned idyllism of the pastoral. His earliest romances rústicos are almost perfectly structured and achieve an absolute synthesis of the popular tradition with classical and literary motifs. Those images and symbols gleaned from popular lyrics are refined and polished by the elegance of latinate language and syntax. Earlier landscapes, whilst supposedly localized, are in fact stylized to the extent that they eternalize the beauty of the

pueblo. Later romances rústicos, however, do not convey the same enthusiasm for the country and its people. Instead the romances from 1603 onwards are written for a social and literary purpose. Its effects are obvious. References to actual places disguise any references to those people for whom the poems were written. The landscapes are unidentifiable and not particularly typical of Spain, the characters less convincing. Above all Góngora's poetic attitude towards these poems has changed. The ingenuity has gone and he introduces no sparkle or pleasure. The singing and dancing has been abandoned for the serious pursuit of courtly love, and Góngora's scepticism of those activities is made clear. The final romance of the group can be nothing more than a parody of a genre which Góngora both invented and destroyed.

* * * * *

The romance pastoril was used by poets often solely to act as a setting for a love story, song or lament. Góngora has parodied this tendency in the two romances examined above. Nevertheless, his romances rústicos take example too from the romance pastoril and Góngora employs them as a means of expressing thoughts on traditional love themes. The romances which follow in this study are examples of Góngora's skill in expounding classical amorous topoi within a rustic framework.

Written only one year after 'Minguilla la siempre bella' the romance 'Guarda corderos, zagala' is full proof that Góngora's interest in rustic subjects had not entirely waned. However, this romance is considerably different from those already examined. The structure is refined and the theme elegantly argued. It should be noted that Jammes does not include it among the 'romances rustiques' and Durán classes it among the romances

pastoriles. We have established that Góngora did not write romances pastoriles of a literal kind, his rural landscapes and lifestyles proving far from those idyllically perfect haunts of later Latin and Greek poetry and its Renaissance imitations. Nevertheless, the motifs and images of the romance are objects taken from nature, and although many were used as classical topoi, Góngora depicts each object with all the conviction of a natural scene. For the reason of faithfulness to the country life and also because it is again addressed to a rustic shepherdess I have included it in this chapter dealing with the romances rústicos. The girl to whom the narrator addresses his words is a pastora; not a disguised noblewoman at play, but a zagala, a lass, lusty and vigorous. By twice referring to her as zagala Góngora emphasizes this 'realistic' rather than china-shepherdess aspect of the girl's character. She is flesh and blood, and as such is expected to feel the desires of a normal, healthy girl. A shepherdess she may be, but she is also a woman and cannot escape the consequences of womanhood. In this case the narrator is referring to the allegedly inherent inconstancy of woman.

The narrator is the most important single aspect of the romance beside the theme of inconstancy. He reinforces his arguments for proof of woman's infidelity with the help of nature. Taking his examples from the landscape he tells how (from the Middle Ages) the ermine was celebrated for its purity and chastity. The ermine, a species of pure white stoat, highly prized for its fur, was traditionally thought to have a horror of soiling its spotless coat. But the narrator suggests that this fastidiousness is no more than a cover-up, deliberately

affected, put on as clothing is and which can be just as easily cast off:

> La pureza del armiño,
> que tan celebrada es,
> vístela con el pellico
> y desnúdala con el. 11.5-8.

In one sense, then, purity is a garment. However, Góngora takes the joke one step further. The purity 'tan celebrada' of the ermine could easily be renounced. The well-known emblem nolo morire quam foedare illustrated how, when faced with a violent and deadly alternative, the ermine was willing to dive into a pool of mud, thereby deliberately sullying its spotless coat.

As in the animal kingdom, so it is with minerals. Any attempts at steadfastness are wasted when even rocks and stones 'a pesar de su firmeza' crack under the blows of a chisel. In the plant world the same ideas apply. Here Góngora can select examples from an abundance of plants traditionally attributed with the power to bestow the virtue of constancy in both classical literature and in folklore. The oaktree is a typical image of strength and firmness both visually an in its symbolism as a mark of deeprooted faith and of courage. It will resist onslaught from any mischievous wind because of its deep roots:[58]

> Resiste al viento la encina,
> más con el villano pie,
> que con las hojas corteses
> a cualquier céfiro cree. 11.13-16

Yet the earthy rusticity suggested in the first couplet is contrasted with the courtly ideas of the second, where 'las hojas corteses' are swayed by any breeze, just as the courtly lady will be taken in by the flattering whispers of potential suitors and will flirt freely with them. This is the second time in the poem that Góngora has forced us to contrast the

court and the countryside; firstly in dress and now in behaviour. It is the behavioural aspect which is most relevant here. Góngora continues to use tree symbolism. From the idealist oak our attention is drawn to the elm and its bark entwined with the vine. Symbolism is very important here for the understanding of the romance. Traditionally the vine was trained onto the elm tree and together the two stood for natural sympathy and unity, and for marriage.[58a] The elm was the counterpart of the husband who was of no value without his wife, whilst she was reliant upon him for support. Fertility, happiness and a safe life were all inter-related and, as with ivy, the vine and its support were seen to stand for the imperishable affections of love and friendship. As in folklore, so in the classics:[59]

> Ulmus erat contra spatiosa tumentibus uvis.
> Quam socia postquam pariter cum vite probavit;
> At si staret, ait, coelebs sone palmite truncus,
> Nil praeter frondes, quare peteretur haberet.
> Haec quoque quae juncta vitis requiescit in ulmo,
> Si non nupta foret, terrae acclinata jaceret.

The laurel stood for immortality, chastity and purity because of the mythological association it holds with the chaste nymph Daphne who fled from amorous Apollo. Yet all these things are denied by Góngora in a mere four lines of verse. The perfect scheme of traditional lore does not function smoothly in nature and, by extension, neither does it in human nature:

> Aquella hermosa vid
> que abrazada al olmo ves
> parte pámpanos discreta
> con el vecino laurel. 11.17-20.

The development from the previous quatrain is subtle. Open and harmless flirting has become discreet and even more

deliberate. The development into the following stanza is inevitable:

> Tortolilla gemidora,
> despuesto el casto desdén,
> tálamo hizo segundo
> las ramas de aquel ciprés. 11.21-24.

The cypress tree, a symbol of fertility becomes the venue for the second marriage of the turtle dove. Traditionally this was the only bird to represent true conjugal fidelity even after death, an archetype of constancy. Rather than be violated the turtle dove was said to stir up the mud in the waters before it drank as in the popular lyric:[60]

> soy paloma del cerro
> que voy bajando a la aguada
> con las alitas enturbio
> por no tomar agua clara

and[61]

> Fontefrida, fontefrida,
> Fontefrida y con amor,
> do todas las avecicas
> van tomar consolación
> si no es la tortolica
> que está viuda y con dolor.

Folklore is again disproved by nature as the dove takes a second mate when her first is dead. As for the carnation, again a symbol of pure love and marriage:

> No para una abeja sola
> sus hojas guarda... 11.25-26.

With reference to the romance of the colmeneruela we have seen how the bee was often interpreted as a pornographic symbol and Góngora clearly intends the same to be understood

deliberate. The development into the following stanza is inevitable:

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> que está viuda y con dolor.

Folklore is again disproved by nature as the dove takes a second mate when her first is dead. As for the carnation, again a symbol of pure love and marriage:

> No para una abeja sola
> sus hojas guarda... 11.25-26.

With reference to the romance of the colmeneruela we have seen how the bee was often interpreted as a pornographic symbol and Góngora clearly intends the same to be understood

here. Although the carnation, 'el clavel', is masculine in Spanish, it signifies female love, and in spite of the feminine gender of the bee, 'la abeja', its function of penetration into the petal folds of the flower is obviously masculine in nature. The romance's development has led onto the subject of sexual promiscuity. Lines 29 to 30 show how such infidelity is a simple matter:

> El cristal de aquel arroyo,
> undosamente fiel,
> niega al ausente su imagen
> hasta que le vuelve a ver. ll.29-32.

The message is that a lover out of sight is a lover out of mind. The brook will always reflect the image of that lover when he looks into it, just as a maiden will always claim to his face that she is true. In her eyes, too, he will see only his own reflection. On the subject of separation one series of adages claims that absence makes the heart grow fonder:[62]

> Zagala, dí ¿que harás
> cuando veas que soy partido?
> - Carillo, quererte he más
> que en mi vida te he querido.

Góngora persuades us that the opposite is in fact true:[63]

> Ausencia enemiga del amor
> tan lejos de ojos, cuan lejos de corazón.
>
> Cuanto te veo
> tanto te quiero.

The romance is over halfway through and in the event the zagala has not understood the narrator's references and allusions he spells out his message:

> La inconstancia, al fin, da plumas
> al hijo de Venus,... 11.33-34.

Infidelity is the very stuff on which the winged god of love thrives. Inconstancy is, in fact, what love is all about, and the narrator points out how foolish it is to regard one type of love more highly than any other:

> No, pues, tu libre albedrío
> lo tiranice interés,
> ni amor que de singular
> tenga más que de infiel. 11.37-40.

His advice, furthermore, is to forget about taking the golden vows of marriage and falling under the matrimonial yoke, for it is worth little more than silken cords with which she would then be required to tie up her loose hair.[64] Marriage is inadvisable for she would become subject to the will of husband by law rather than to her own free will. Not only should she resist taking a husband but she ought not to confine herself to the adoration of one lover, especially if he is above her station in life.

Having referred to the constancy of the turtle dove between lines 21 and 24, the narrator now warns the girl that it is unwise to feign innocence, cooing like the birds of Venus. Furthermore, to put oneself in a position where love for one man is unrequited is even more foolish, for in that way she will be sure to waste away to a shadow of her former self and, like Echo the nymph, a literary cliché:

> ...ya
> vocal sombra vino a ser. 11.55-56.

The narrator is finally adamant that if she persists in this

scorn of his advice her misery must finally force her, a real woman, to scream her misery aloud with 'entera voz'.

The narrator conducts the argument throughout the romance. His opinions lead the reader to suspect that he may be the man slighted by the zagala, as he complains that she 'desprecia mi parecer'. As a potential lover he is persistent in his opinions and persuasions. Yet it is only in the final quatrain that we become aware of his intentions. Until then the advice to the girl is presented in the more objective tone which Góngora uses in romances 82 and 10. The romance is a type of persuasion to love which advocates that to love but one man is folly. However, it is the only such persuasion in which the narrator displays some self-interest. It is indeed rather an unusual romance presenting a polygamous and far from Roman Catholic viewpoint. The vein of the poem suggests more of a relationship to the classical poets; for example, the playful tone recalls Ovid's Amores. Probably written to a girl at court on behalf of a younger lover (Góngora was sixty years of age in 1621) it is beautifully and skilfully narrated. The girl, like the countryside around her, is not faithful by nature. She cannot pretend to be so in any relationship; that of maiden, mistress, wife or widow, and the narrator would rather she remained that way for his own interests too.

* * * * *

The romance examined above serves chiefly as a persuasion to the zagala to behave as a living woman rather than as a literary shepherdess and also as a persuasion to love both well and often, as life is far too short to devote it solely to one man. This was sure to have been controversial advice, but it is not the first time that it has been expounded by Góngora.

A much earlier romance, 'Las flores del romero' of 1608 (number 58), offers similar advice to a young girl. Published by Vicuña as a romance amoroso, its construction, two stanzas of twelve lines each with an initial estribillo, suggests to Carreño that it may have been written as a song to be sung, and perhaps to accompany a dance.[65] The girl to whom the romance refers could be a country girl, a 'niña del pueblo' or a young lady of the court in rustic disguise. Her name, Isabel, provides no clue to a specific identity. It may sound courtly, yet the estribillo is taken directly from popular tradition by Góngora. Correas quotes the following in his Vocabulario...:[66]

La flor del romero
Niña Isabel
Hoy es flor azul
y mañana será miel.

Góngora changes the refrán, converting its metre to pie de romance, and in doing so renders it more aesthetically pleasing:

Las flores del romero,
Niña Isabel

Hoy son flores azules,
Mañana serán miel. ll. 1-4.

The new plurality of the lines is adopted by Calderón in El Alcalde de Zalamea and imitated by Lope in Los pastores de Belén (1612):[67]

Las pajas del pesebre
Niño de Belen
Hoy son flores y rosas
mañana serán hiel.

The romance is given a further new slant on the persuasion to love idea. It is similar to 'Guarda corderos, zagala' in that the girl has her eyes firmly fixed on one man, but rather different here in that she has been deserted by him. She is, in a word, jealous; blue being the colour of jealousy, the rosemary flowers reflect her thoughts. Yet the jealous feelings will eventually melt and sweeten as surely as the flowers will wither leaving their only trace in the honey which the bee extracts from their nectar.

The estribillo is in the present tense. Today (hoy) Isabel is jealous, although in the future (mañana) the feelings will pass. The first stanza of the poem gives the reason for the feeling created by past events (ayer):

> Celosa estás, la niña,
> celosa estás de aquel
> dichoso, pues le buscas,
> ciego, pues no te ve,
> ingrato, pues te enoja,
> y confiado, pues
> no se disculpa hoy
> de lo que hizo ayer. 11.5-12.

By changing the rhythm of the last two lines given here and by placing the two opposing elements (hoy/ayer) at the prime stress points at the end of the lines, Góngora draws attention to the absurdity of the situation. This is further emphasized by the stress point immediately before (line 10) being occupied by only the conjunction 'pues'. Today the girl is in tears since her lover did her wrong yesterday, but we are told that he is unworthy of such devotion for he is 'ciego', 'ingrato' and 'confiado'.

The poet says that hopes for the future are the things which will help her to dry her tears:

Enjuguen esperanzas
lo que lloras por el,
que celos entre aquellos
que se han querido bien,

hoy son flores azules,
mañana serán miel. ll.13-18.

He emphasizes the futility of tears right now. She may well be jealous over those she has loved but this will pass.

The tone of the second half of the poem changes considerably. The poet has been trying to humour Isabel, with little set proverbs of rustic wisdom and with sympathy shown in his knowing the reason for her tears. The mood of the first half of the romance gently mocks her grief and is playful in intention. Góngora conveys this sense in the lilting movement of the lines, each being roughly subdivided into hemistichs:

celosa estás, la niña
celosa estás de aquel etc.

Coupled with the refrán this gives a nursery-rhyme rhythm which is discarded in the second half of the romance. The argument of the second stanza is changed accordingly, as is the narrator's tone of voice. He appears more concerned for Isabel; having gently tried to coax her to smile he now adopts more serious methods of persuasion:

Aurora de tí misma,
que cuando a amanecer
a tu placer empiezas,
te eclipsan tu placer,
serénense tus ojos,
y más perlas no des,
porque al Sol le está mal
lo que a la Aurora bien. ll.19-26.

He asks her directly to dry her eyes for they hide their own

beauty when she cries. She is described as the dawn itself in which case the suns (soles) of her eyes, a common courtly epithet for beautiful eyes, are eclipsed by the tears she sheds. She is ruining her beauty by crying for although dew-drops are suitable accompaniment to the sun-rise, they are not desirable in full sunlight. Her tears act as a dewy mist, clouding the natural sunshine-brightness of her vision:

> Desata como nieblas
> todo lo que no ves,
> que sospechas de amantes
> y querellas después,
>
> hoy son flores azules,
> mañana serán miel. ll.27-32.

The poet's final suggestion is that were she to dry her tears she would find that she could see the situation more clearly. Lovers fears and quarrels would appear to her as the squabbles that they really are, soon to melt into the sweetness of love again. The romance is a complete miniature masterpiece of argument and structure. The rhythm and form of the composition changes and moves in total harmony with the mood and the argument. The stanzas are perfectly balanced, with a marvellously Petrarchan opposition set up at the same point in each:

> no se disculpa hoy
> de lo que hizo ayer. ll.11-12
>
> porque al Sol le está mal
> lo que a la Aurora bien. ll.25-26.

The sentimental qualities of the romance are handled with perfect sensitivity by Góngora who, whilst concerned to help Isabel overcome her grief, also finds himself smiling at her girlish folly. The romance is a tiny courtly compliment within

the simple structure of a song using popular proverb and imagery from the kitchen-garden. It is perhaps the gentleness of the poet's persuasion, to dry up tears shed for faithless lovers, that impresses us most here.

* * * * *

Themes of persuasion to love, usually directed at young girls, are of classical origin and thus enjoyed a surge in popularity during the Renaissance and the Golden Age throughout Europe. Perhaps the most frequently used classical topos of all time is that of carpe diem, literally 'seize the day', from the Latin carpere meaning 'to pluck, snatch, gather in' and frequently associated with flowers, especially the rose.[68] The original appears in Horace:

> carpe diem quam minime credula postero
>
> (Enjoy the present day, trusting as little as possible to what the morrow may bring).

This may seem an hedonistic admonition, yet its real message was to live life to the full, although not necessarily to excess, for it is brief. It is indeed a very classical idea, somewhat at odds with the Roman Catholic fervour of Spain because it advocates an agnostic idea and totally rejects mysticism and trust in life after death. Nevertheless, its popularity was widespread and in Spain alone the topos flourished in varying treatments. Garcilaso used the topos in his sonnet 'En tanto que de rosa y azucena'. In a study of the carpe diem theme, Carballo Picazo says of this sonnet: 'Las circunstancias en Garcilaso reflejan equilibrio, ponderación, suave balanceo'.[69] In Garcilaso's sonnet 'estamos en el Renacimiento: corren aires pesimistas, claro; pero la mayoría de

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de los hombres juega a vivir gozosa, sensualmente, con fruición'.[70]

Whilst Garcilaso clung to older ideas, including the pagan sense of life, Fernando de Herrera added more to the theme by introducing the woman's attitude, the woman totally absorbed in her own beauty.[71] This addition was inherited by Góngora who used it even more successfully than Herrera by separating woman's attibutes from those of nature.[72] In the Renaissance tradition Góngora at least twice used Italianate forms to express his thoughts on the theme, in such sonnets as 'Ilustre y hermosísima María' (1583) and in the more famous 'Mientras por competir con tu cabello' (1582). Góngora uses the traditional metre for such themes, established in Spain by Boscán and Garcilaso, yet these two sonnets are far more closely influenced by the work of Tasso.[73] Nevertheless Góngora adds his own personal touch to the theme. In his hands it becomes more ornate in nature and tone. The emphasis he uses is different, no longer simply an exhortation to enjoy life, but now a melancholy warning to beware of its brevity. Garcilaso's sonnet number 23[74] ends with the affirmation of 'todo' whilst that of Góngora[75] ends in 'nada'. Ares Montes sees this as 'una especie de memento homo hecho, más que para gozar, para meditar sobre la fragilidad de la existencia'.[76]

Carballo Picazo tells us that Góngora pays serious attention to the theme only twice,[77] but I think here he overlooks the romances because they are not written in the usual Italianate metre. We have seen how Góngora delights in combining the classical with the popular and the carpe diem theme is no exception. I do not wish to go into detail examining romance

82 again, as I have already looked closely at it in a previous chapter.[78] Nevertheless it contains a perfect example of the theme coupled with that of collige, virgo, rosas in the following lines:

> 'Ejerced, le dice, hermana,
> vuestra hermosura, y creed
> que tan vana es la de hoy
> como ingrata la de ayer.
> Fugitivas son las dos,
> usad de esos dones bien,
> que en un cristal guardáis fragil
> lo caduco de un clavel.
> Si os reguláis con las flores
> que visten esa pared,
> horas son breves; el día
> las ve morir que nacer.
> Gozáos en sazón, que el tiempo,
> tesorero ya infiel
> de ese oro que peináis,
> de ese marfil que escondéis,
> desengaños restituye;
> necia en el espejo fue
> la memoria: mudad antes
> parecer que parecer.' 11.61-80.

Here all the elements already discussed are present. The girl is advised to make use of her beauty ('Ejerced...vuestra hermosura') because it flees as quickly as yesterday and today ('fugitivas son las dos') or a carnation kept alive in a vase of water. If she judges time by the flowers she will find out just how fleeting it is ('si os reguláis con las flores/que visten esa pared/horas son breves'). The message is clear - 'el día/las ve morir que nacer' - as is the advice 'Gozáos'. Looking in a mirror will not be able to recall her beauty once it has gone.

This is the most explicit persuasion to love in any of the romances not least because it is delivered by the disguised god of love. Another, more lively, romance is 'Que se nos va la pascua, mozas'. Written earlier in 1582 it is one

of Góngora's earliest elaborations of the theme,[79] and is combined almost perfectly with popular ideas.

The idea of enjoying life to the full does not belong exclusively to Latin poetry. It is indigenous to the Iberian peninsula too, and the estribillo for Góngora's romance is adapted from a popular refrán included by Correas in his Vocabulario...:[80]

> Ke se nos va la Paskua, mozas
> ia viene otra.

That it was a common phrase in the popular speech of 1637 can therefore be proven, but Alín tells us that it also goes back as far as the jarchas of the eleventh and twelfth centuries[81] and quotes a moaxaja by Yehuda Halevi (died 1170) given by Menéndez Pidal:[82]

> Vienid la Pasca ied yo (?) sin ellu'.
> ¡com' caned (?) mio corayon por ellu'.
>
> (Viene la Pascua, ¡y yo sin el'.
> ¡Cómo arde mi corazón por el'.)

and which he says was used even earlier by the Cordoban poet Ibn Baqi (died 1145) in the form:

> Viene la Pascua, ay, aún sin él
> lacerando mi corazón por él.

These may seem a little at odds with Góngora's estribillo

> ¡Que se nos va la Pascua, mozas,
> Que se nos va la Pascua'.

but there is a direct link for, as Correas points out, 'la fiesta de la Pascua es época de amores y de citas amorosas'. We have already noted the relationship of annual fiestas to

the love affairs of the average villager in 'En el baile del ejido' and other *romances*. Pascua is the time to meet one's lover. The popular version of the *refrán* given by Correas emphasizes the recurrent aspects of the tradition:

> Ke se nos va la Paskua, mozas
> - ia viene otra.

No sooner has one festival ended than another one comes around and therefore there will be hundreds of opportunities for the average peasant girl to find the man of her dreams. Yet Góngora adjusts this *refrán* to:

> ¡Que se nos va la Pascua, mozas...'

adding only the repetition of the first six words. Whilst Correas's *refrán* stresses the eternality of the situation Góngora totally alters the emphasis. Although one never puts out of mind the original ending of the *refrán*, (another *fiesta* always comes around) the emphasis now shifts to point out that next time around it may be too late for the individual. Garrison says that this contradicts the meaning of the popular *refrán*[83] but I do not think that it is a total contradiction because it is certain that once the festivities are over it will not be long before more begin. Góngora's point is that there is need for some haste, because when it does come you may no longer be in a position to take advantage of it. Seizing one's opportunities is his message, that too of *carpe diem*. From all this we are able to see just how natural and spontaneous the theme itself is, as much for popular poetry as for the classics.[84] The popular and classical elements seem to dissolve into one another here, yet the theme of *carpe diem*

remains fully recognizable, even though Góngora goes against all traditions in this romance.

Hardly any evidence of the traditional carpe diem imagery remains; the only noticeable commonplace is found in the first stanza:

> No os dejéis lisonjear
> de la juventud lozana,
> porque de caducas flores
> teje el tiempo sus guirnaldas. 11.7-10

where the flowers are representative of the mutability of beauty and youth. Other than that, Góngora takes the examples he uses to advise from village scenes and typical rustic life. Furthermore, a very great change from the normal traditions, the exhortation is delivered not by the poet himself, nor even by a prospective lover or other narrator, but by one of the mozas, urging her friends on to have an enjoyable time at the fiesta. This is a fortunate alteration; nothing could be more natural and ingenuous.

The girl urges her friends in a mixture of comic and serious anecdotes to:

> mirad no os engañe el tiempo,
> la edad y la confianza. 11.5-6.

These three things would be the downfall of any beauty, rustic or courtly, because 'Vuelan los ligeros años'. As in a romance examined previously, 'En los pinares de Jucar', Góngora introduces a classical allusion here, to the Harpies who desecrated the tables of King Fineos. It is a signature of the poet to introduce pearls of classical wisdom into the mouths of common, uneducated, probably even illiterate characters, yet here it does not seem out of place. It may

look like an anachronism at first to introduce a mythological reference, but it is carefully synthesized with the rustic tone of the poem by one simple device. Normally Harpies are given in Spanish as 'arpías', but Góngora adds to it the 'h' - technically silent, yet here it would need to be aspirated to avoid a fore-shortened line due to synaloepha between 'como' and 'harpías' -

nos roban, como harpías,...

This is a perfect touch; the country girl, with her rustic accent, especially if she was Andalusian, would be inclined to sound the 'h's of many words, more so if they were unfamiliar to her and therefore emphasized.

From classical mythological allusion she then turns to modern mythology in her reference to:

> La flor de la Maravilla
> esta verdad nos declara,
> porque le hurta la tarde
> lo que le dió la mañana. 11.17-20.

The flower itself had to be imported from Peru, and became fabled because of its great, but short-lived beauty. It bloomed for only a few hours. The likelihood of a young villager seeing such a plant would perhaps be remote, although we cannot know for certain, but it did become just as much part of popular mythology as Hercules or Cupid.

Between each stanza of eight lines the insistent little estribillo is repeated, and the whole romance could have been sung and danced to, as were many of the other romances rústicos amorosos.

In the next stanza the girl tells how the church bells

ringing to call them to morning prayer, and each evening too,

> ...os desarman
> de vuestro color y lustre,
> de vuestro donaire y gracia,
> y quedáis todas perdidas
> por mayores de la marca. 11.26-30.

Each time they ring the bells mark off another portion of the girls' lives, slowly ageing them (by implication the same bells will also toll at their deaths) until they have grown too old for fun, love and finally for everything. Having led into the topic of old age, particularly old women, our narrator goes on to give specific examples of the 'little old ladies I have known'. The first is a tale of woe:

> ...una biena vieja
> que fue un tiempo rubia y zarca,
> y que al presente le cuesta
> harta caro el ver su cara,
> porque su bruñida frente
> y sus mejillas se hallan
> más que roquete de obispo
> encogidas y arrugadas. 11.33-40.

A once beautiful woman, blonde and blue-eyed (the Petrarchan ideal'.),[85] now can no longer bear to look at her own wrinkled face. The reference to the Bishop's cassock follows on from the church bells of the previous stanza; where the bells stood for inevitable ageing, ecclesiastical vestments are seen as already aged, drab and lifeless. The second old lady was also a good woman, but:

> que un diente que le quedaba
> se lo dejó este otro día
> sepultado en unas natas, 44-46.

This is pure comedy, yet the gravity of the warning is not impaired by our amusement; rather it is driven harder home. Like her contemporary this old woman can remember her youth well,

and, addressing her fallen tooth she says:[86]

> yo sé cuando fuistes perla,
> aunque ahora no sois caña. ll.49-50.

It is clear that although the girls may laugh now in their youth, they too will find themselves in the same position, before they realise it. The final stanza of the romance renews the insistence of the warning:

> Por eso, mozuelas locas,
> antes que la edad avara
> el rubio cabello de oro
> convierte en luciente plata,
> quered cuando sois queridas,
> amad cuando sois amadas,
> mirad, bobas, que detrás
> se pinta la ocasión calva. ll.53-60.

The final image comes straight from emblem books where Opportunity was depicted with a long forelock of hair but bald at the back of the head. The emblem's motto was always in the vein that Opportunity could be seized as it came towards you, by the lock of hair, but once it had passed by there would by nothing by which to grab it. The motto, of course, was often used as a kind of refrán[87] and so here the classical topos of carpe diem, the Renaissance and medieval emblem traditions and the popular vernacular refranero come together in this delightful and entertaining song. It is perhaps because of its appeal that it was censured by Fray Pineda, particularly because this Horatian topos, with its hedonist and atheist undercurrents, did not receive the approval of the Church. Góngora's poem makes the idea of living for today with no thought for the hereafter appear positively attractive. Thus, in censuring it, Pineda said

of the romance:[88]

> son consejo de poeta gentil, no de cristiano y sacerdote. Y oxalá no hablará como de sí, sino dixera que era traducción de lo peor de Horacio. Y, después, lo último, donde dize Por eso moçuelas locas, eta.

It is not unusual for Góngora to show a tongue-in-cheek disregard for the approval of the Church, and this tiny, delightful romance is a good representation of the romance rústico amoroso. Sharp, witty and clear with burlesque moments superimposed on more serious concerns, it carries the reader or listener along in the joyful dance with those who work hard, play hard and take their leisure when they can.

* * * * *

Probably the most striking aspect of Góngora's romances rusticos is the variety of life they show. Most display the thoughts and attitudes of real people at work and play towards love, in a critique of the romances pastoriles. Rather than courtiers in disguise who take to the fields solely for amorous reasons, Góngora gives us characters for whom the sport of love is a welcome diversion from their daily work. For the most part neither the landscape nor the sentiments are idealized and the characters, like Menga and the colmeneruela follow their natural instincts and desires. Góngora sees the danger in this conversion of the pastoral tradition and writes a self-parody in 'En la pedregosa orilla' which at the same time continues to lampoon the true pastoral. He also uses the romance rústico as a background for experimentation with classical themes and their relationships to the vernacular refranero.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1 Miguel Querol Gavaldá, Cancionero musical de Góngora (Barcelona, Instituto español de musicología, 1975), p.70.

2 In her article on bailes in the romances of Góngora and Lope de Vega, p.56, Goldberg says:

> Así, el baile suele ser más corto y más sencillo que el entremés; está siempre en verso; como indica el nombre, tiene música y baile, y en diversas proporciones unas partes cantadas y otras habladas.
>
> De que era un género sumamente popular, aunque de importancia efímera y valor literario muy relativo, es elocuente prueba la valiosa colección publicada por D. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori en la Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles bajo el título de Colección de Entremeses, Loas, Bailes, Jácaras y Mojigangas desde fines del siglo XVI a mediados del XVII.

3 Goldberg, p.63.

4 Goldberg, p.60.

5 I use the text from Carreño's edition of the romances which follows in this instance the Aguilera Santiago rather than the Chacón manuscript.

6 In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century drama, it was commonplace to end either every act with a dance or to place one at the end of the play, for example, Shakespeare's As you like it, or Lope's Fuenteovejuna.

7 Jammes, Études..., p.446.

8 Jammes, Études..., p.446-47.

9 Don Quijote, II, chapter 26, p.239-48.

10 El cancionero español de tipo tradicional (Madrid, Taurus, 1968), p.173. He quotes furthermore from Deleito y Pinuela:

> Era la noche de libertad general, en que todo estaba permitido; noche de alegría, de amor y de

aventura, por la cual suspiraba la juventud desde muchos meses antes....

11 E. Martínez Torner, Lírica hispánica. Relaciones entre lo popular y lo culto (Madrid, Castalia, 1966), p.127.

12 Gonzalo Correas, Vocabulario de refranes proverbiales (1627), edited by Louis Combet (Bordeaux, 1967), p.226.

13 E. Martínez Torner, Lírica hispánica, p.127 and Cancionero musical de la lírica popular asturiana (Madrid, 1920), nos 257, 400.

14 For a more modern use of coral as an erotic symbol, see Federico García Lorca whose 'vein of coral' indicated male love for a woman. It also bears the connotation of blood as in La casa de Bernarda Alba act III:

MARÍA JOSEFA: Ni tú ni yo queremos dormir.
La puerta sola se abrirá
y en la playa nos meteremos
en una choza de coral.

It also stands as a general symbol for love. See Ad de Vries, Dictionary of Symbol and Imagery (Amsterdam, NHPC, 1974).

15 Alín, p.210.

Otra canción en la que una joven pierde una de sus prendas en el agua, probablemente a causa de los juegos amorosos, y que encontramos en Mudarra:

Isabel, Isabel,
perdiste la tu faxa;
héla par dó va
nadando por el agua
¡Isabel la tan garrida'.

16 Correas, p.176.

17 Carlos Alberto Sánchez, Aspectos de lo cómico en la poesía de Góngora', RFE 44 (1961), 95-138, p.125.

18 Diccionario de Autoridades (1726) (Madrid, Gredos, 1963):

'gallardía, gentileza y desenvoltura en executar alguna cosa'.

19 Cummins, p.61.

Alín, p.206-07.

20 Alín quotes from Gregorio Silvestre:

el ciervo viene herido
de las yerbas del amor

and Gil Vicente also mentions the 'yerbas del amor' as a place for lovers' meetings (p.229).

21 The sand often denoted barrenness or fruitless labours. As an attribute it symbolized impressionability. (See entry for sand in de Vries.)

22 C. Colin Smith, 'Serranas de Cuenca' in SSLGA (London, Tamesis, 1973), p.283-95.

23 Poesías del Marqués de Santillana, with a prologue by E. Nadal (Barcelona, Montañer y Simón, 1972), p.164. This is an extremely interesting quatrain given the allusion to 'pinares', 'vi', 'Menga' which occur here and in others of Gongora's romances rústicos. See also Smith who quotes Timoneda's 'Por la ribera de Turya', which becomes 'Por la ribera de Lucar' in Lucas Rodríguez's Romancero historiado (Smith, p.292-93).

24 Jammes, Études... p.446.

Compare this with lines in the Soledad I:

(a) ll.540-549

coros tejiendo, voces alternando
sigue la dulce escuadra montañesa
del perezoso arroyo el paso lento,
en cuanto él hurta blanco
entre los amores que robustos besa
pedazos de cristal, que el movimiento
libra en la falda, en el coturno ella
de la columna bella,
ya que celosa basa,
dispensadora del cristal no escasa.

and 11.27-34 (romance)

El pie (cuanto le permite
la brújula de la falda)
lazos calza, y mirar deja
pedazos de nieve y nácar.
Ellas, cuyo movimiento
honestamente levantan
el cristal de la columna
sobre la pequeña basa.

(b) 11.251-53

Negras pizarras entre blancos dedos
ingeniosa hiere otra,...

11.241-42

sobre un arroyo, de quejarse ronco,
mudo sus ondas...

11.556-61

Pintadas aves, cítaras de pluma
coronaban la bárbara capilla
mientras el arroyuelo para oílla
hace de blanca espuma
tantas orejas cuantas guijas lava,
de donde es fuente a donde arroyo acaba.

and 11.37-44 (romance)

Una entre los blancos dedos
hiriendo negras pizarras
instrumento de marfil
que las Musas le envidiaran,
las aves enmudeció,
y enfrenó el curso del agua;
no se movieron las hojas,
por no impedir lo que canta:

(c) 11.353-55

sobre la grana que se viste fina,
su bella amada, deponiendo amante
en las vestidas rosas su cuidado.

and 11.23-26 (romance)

Del color visten del cielo,
si no son de la esperanza,
palmillas que menosprecian
al zafiro y la esmeralda.

(d) ll.612-15

Ellas en tanto en bóvedas de sombras,
pintadas siempre al fresco,
cubren las que Sidón telar turquesco
no ha sabido imitar verdes alfombras.

ll.623-29

Mezcladas hacen todas
teatro dulce, no de escena muda,
el apacible sitio espacio breve
en que, a pesar del Sol, cuajada nieve
y nieve de colores mil vestida,
la sombra vió florida
en la hierba menuda.

and ll.57-62 (romance)

Entre rama y rama,
cuando el ciego dios
pide al Sol los ojos
por verlas mejor
los ojos del Sol
las veréis pisar.

25 Jammes, Études..., p.445-46.

26 Smith, p.285.

27 See R. Goldberg's article on bailes.

28 Included with this title in Flor de las comedias de España de diferentes autores. Quinta parte (Barcelona, 1616).

29 See 'En el baile del ejido'.

30 A common meeting place, the relevance of which we shall soon see, was the stream or riverbank or seashore, where the young girl would go on the pretext of washing her clothes or fetching water:

Yo me levantará, madre, - mañanica de San Juan,
vide estar una doncella - ribericas de la Mar.
Sola lava y sola tuerce - sola tiende en un rosal
mientras los paños se enjugan - dice la niña un cantar:
- De los mis amores, do los - donde los iré a buscar?

in M. Diaz Roig, El romancero viejo (Madrid, Cátedra, 1977), p.234.

31 The poem continues:

Con un falcón en la mano - la caza iba a cazar,
vió venir una galera - que á tierra quiere llegar.

Las velas traía de seda, - la ejercía de un cendal,
marinero que la manda - diciendo viene un cantar
que la mar facía en calma, - los vientos hace amainar,
los peces que andan en el hondo - arriba los hace andar,
las aves que andan volando - en el mastel las face posar.
Allí fablo el Conde Arnaldos, - bien oiréis lo que dira:
'Por Dios te ruego marinero, - dígasme ora ese cantar'.
Respondióle el marinero, - tal respuesta le fue a dar:
'Yo no digo esta canción - sino a quien conmigo va'.

32 By requesting that he should come out 'al campo' she is also acknowledging that Love is generally a courtly activity. Here she is enticing from the 'corte' to the 'aldea'.

33 Jammes, Études... p.447-453:

> L'importance du thème est bien soulignée dans la première letra du romance, qui fait du 'cántaro' le symbole de la virginité de la jeune fille, son casque et sa cuirasse contra l'Amour.

34 The earliest recorded romance (1421, Jaume de Olesa) is of this type:

Estase la gentil dama - paseando en su vergel,
los pies tenía descalzos, - que era maravilla ver;
desde lejos me llamara, - no le quise responder.
Respondíle con gran sana: - —¿Qué mandáis, gentil mujer?
Con una voz amorosa - comenzo de responder:
— Ven acá, el pastorcico, - si quieres tomar placer;
siesta es del mediodía, - que ya es hora de comer;
Si querras comar posada - todo es a tu placer....

— This is from a sixteenth-century pliego suelto which is quoted by M. Díaz Roig, El romancero y la lírica popular moderna (Mexico, El Colegio de México. 1976), p.269.

35 'Poner a uno grillos de hielo en los pies, fr, fig - Dejarle pasmado y sin poderse mover', Vocabulario..., Alemany y Selfa.

NB. Carreño gives an explanation for 'grillos de nieve'.

36 de Vries, p.394.

37 Rodríguez Moñino, Cancionero de romances (1550), p.318.

38 de Vries tells us that the heifer was commonly a symbol of wantonness or wildness.

39 Or rather a planet, which reflects the sun's rays to earth in the same way as the moon, but because of its distance from the earth appears in the sky as a bright 'star'.

40 The edition of Antonio Carreño is misleading here: certain notes which appear to refer to the lines of this romance must surely be intended for the romance no 79, which also has the first line '¡Cuántos silbos, cuántas voces!'. The reference to the novilleja as the Virgin Mary herself because of associations with the moon are not appropriate to the sense of this poem, and neither are references to the child Jesus' eyes as luceros, although they make perfect sense in terms of the romance sacro written later in 1620.

41 DILIGENTIA - carefulness, attentiveness, assiduity, careful attention to; P G W Glare (ed), Oxford Latin Dictionary (Oxford University Press, 1982, repr. 1983), p.544.

42 Carreño, note to poem, p.373.

43 Jammes, Études..., p.

44 Ball, Parodies..., p.193.

45 Alemany y Selfa, Vocabulario..., p.486.

46 Alemany y Selfa notes 'Quiza del Gr. Γαλλαῖος - adj. que se refiere a los sacerdotes y por extension al culto de Cibeles', p.462.

It may deliberately suggest Góngora the cleric in disguise (an absurd copy of Lope's) or just another worshipper of female beauty in the form of Diana/Cybele/the huntress.

47 Vol III, p.280.

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47 Vol III, p.280.

48 Definitions from Alemany y Selfa, Vocabulario...:

> Esgueva - 'Río que cruza la provincia de Palencia, pasa por en medio de Valladolid, recogiendo todas las inmundiciones de esa ciudad, y afluye al Pisuerga.' P. 398.
>
> Darro - 'Río que atraviesa la ciudad de Granada y afluye al Genil.' P. 302.

49 See Carreño's note to this poem, p.115-18 and Margaret Sleeman, 'Medieval Hair Tokens', FMLS, XVII (1981), 322-336.

50 See Ball's thorough analysis of the poem in his Parodies..., p.173-237.

51 Even today folk-singers will adopt a nasal tone, sometimes even closing their eyes and placing one hand over an ear as if to hear themselves better.

52 The calls of modern Andalusian Street Vendors are nasal and singsong.

53 Carreño, introduction, p.72.

54 Jammes, Études..., p.456-58.

55 Primavera y flor de los mejores romances que han salido aora nuevamente en esta Corte recogidos de varios poetas por P. Arias Pérez (Barcelona, Libreros, 1582). Ed. J Fernández Montesinos (Valencia, Castalia, 1954), introduction, p.liv-lviii.

56 John H. Turner, The myth of Icarus in Spanish Renaissance Poetry (London, Tamesis, 1976), p.89.

57 Estilo barroco y personalidad creadora: Góngora, Quevedo, Lope de Vega, augmented edition (Madrid, 1974), p.144-45.

58 Cree - from obedecer/ceder a la dirección que se le da, but also from the idea of faith (no guardes fe) and the oak as a symbol of faith. Alemany y Selfa, Vocabulario..., p.275.

58a Compare Himeneo's song in Soledad I, 11.828-831:

> y los olmos casando con las vides
> mientras coronan pámpanos a Alcides,
> clava empuñe Liëo.
> Ven, Himeneo, ven; ven, Himeneo.

59 Ovid, Metamorphoses, Book 14, 11.661-66:

> There was a shapely elm-tree opposite, covered with gleaming bunches of grapes. After he had looked approvingly at this awhile, together with its vine companion, he said: 'But if that tree stood there

unmated to the vine, it would not be sought save for its leaves alone; and this vine, which clings to and rests safely on the elm, of it were not thus wedded, it would lie languishing, flat upon the ground'.

Translated by F. J. Miller, 2 vols (London, Heinemann, 1916, repr. 1946), p.346-47.

60 Agua clara is a fertility symbol. E. Martínez Torner, Lírica hispánica..., p.92.

61 C. C. Smith, Spanish Ballads (Oxford, Pergamon, 1964), p.193.

62 Jorge de Montemayor in Flor de enamorados. See Alín, p.534.

63 Correas, pp.29, 374.

64 The 'niña en cabello' - the unmarried girl wore her hair loose. Once married she wore it braided or tied up.

65 Carreño edition of the Romances, note on p.319.

66 From Salamanca, p.188.

67 El Alcalde de Zalamea (1651) edited by J. M. Diez Borque, (Madrid, Castália, 1976), p.214, 2ª jornada, ll.337-40.

Los Pastores de Belén (1612), Lírica de Lope de Vega, edited by J. M. Blecua (Madrid, Castália, 1981), p.181.

68 See also Ausonius, De Rosis Nascentibus, l.43:

Quamlonga una dies, aetas tam longa rosarum
Cum pubescenti juncta senecta brevis

and Idyllia, XIV, l.49:

Collige, virgo, rosas, dum flos novus et nova pubes
Et memor esto aevum sic properare tuum.

69 A. Carballo Picazo, 'El soneto "Mientras por competir con tu cabello" de Góngora', RFE, 47 (1964), 379-98, p.385.

70 Carballo Picazo, p.385.

71 'O soberbia i cruel en tu belleza' is a translation of Horace.

72 Carballo Picazo, p.386-87.

73 'Mentre che l'aureo crin v'ondeggia intorno'.

74 Sonnet 23 in Rivers edition of Poesías castellanas completas

Marchitará la rosa el viento helado,
todo lo mudará la edad ligera
por no hacer mudanza en su costumbre.

75 Sonnet 149 in B. Ciplijauskaité's edition of Sonetos completos

goza cuello, cabello, labio y frente,
antes que lo que fue en tu edad dorada
oro, lilio, clavel, cristal luciente,...
no solo en plata o viola troncada
se vuelva, mas tu y ello juntamente
en tierra, en humo, en polvo, en sombra, en nada.

76 José Ares Montes, Góngora y la poesía portuguesa del siglo XVI (Madrid, 1956), p.333.

77 In the two sonnets 'Mientras por competir con tu cabello' amd 'Ilustre y hermosísima María'.

78 'En la fuerza de Almería'; see chapter 5 on the romances moriscos.

79

'Mientras por competir con tu cabello'	1582
'Ilustre y hermosísima María'	1582
'Que se nos va la pascua, mozas'	1582
'Las flores del romero'	1608
'En la fuerza de Almería'	1620
'Aprended flores en mí' (letrilla)	1621
'Guarda corderos, zagala'	1621
'Menos solicitó veloz saeta' (sonnet)	1623.

80 p.384. Also 'Ke si a Pascua no viniere/ a San Xuan me aguardeis'.

81 Alín, p.171.

82 R. Menéndez Pidal, Cantos románicos andalusíes, see Alín, p.171.

83 See chapter IV of Garrison, 'The satiric and burlesque ballads of Góngora'.

84 Carballo Picazo, p.382, 'exhortación al goce de la vida, de la vida siempre breve'.

85 It would not be unusual for the dusky girls of southern Spain to think of the fairer girl as a greater beauty than themselves, even when ignorant of the Petrarchan tradition. Even in Andalusia today the blonde is unusual and therefore desirable. There are many references to this subject. Wardropper's article is noteworthy. There are others.

86 Hoces, 'no sois nada'.

87 Diccionario de autoridades, III, p.13:

> Asir la ocasión por la melena, o por los cabellos. Frase que vale usar a su tiempo de la oportunidad que le ofrece delante, para hacer o intentar alguna cosa, de que resulta provecho y utilidad, y de la omisión mucho daño.
> Lat. Occasionem arripere. Antonio de Fuenmayor, Vida de San Pío Quinto, f.85. Asirán por la melena la ocasión, y esgrimirán las armas oprimidas.

88 Alonso, Obras en verso..., p.xxxiv.

CHAPTER VII

TWO RECURRENT FIGURES IN THE ROMANCES AMOROSOS

1 : THE CAZADORA

Woman is the most recurrent subject of poetry, the eternal Muse moving men to higher thoughts and modes of expression. She has remained so since the European Renaissance and particularly throughout the Golden Age of Spain. In the eyes of their adoring poets Dante's Beatrice and Petrarch's Laura both grew in status from mere humans to virtual angels, and the concept of the ideal woman with these crystallized into the Petrarchan type. Appearing in many guises in lyrical poetry, she is most often depicted as golden-haired, blue-eyed and fair-skinned. There are some exceptions to this - sometimes a fair girl with dark eyes. In the popular tradition the morena often appears although usually as a sensual rather than a spiritual beauty, like the serrana de la Vera:[1]

> Allá en Garganta la Olla en la Vera de Plasencia
> Salteóme una Serrana blanca, rubia, ojimorena.

She may be a courtly lady, or a nymph in the Arcadian landscape

of the poet's imagination. Garcilaso de la Vega provides fine examples of the (stereo)typical woman; as the girl he tries to persuade into accepting love in sonnet 23, 'En tanto que de rosa y d'azucena', and as the nymphs of sonnet 11, 'Hermosas ninfas, que en el río metidas', and Égloga III where:[2]

> peinando sus cabellos d'oro fino
> una ninfa del agua do moraba
> la cabeza sacó,... 11.69-71.

Góngora continues this tradition of beauty with the archetypal girls of his sonnets:

> Mientras por competir con tu cabello
> oro bruñido al sol relumbra en vano;
> mientras con menosprecio en medio el llano
> mira tu blanca frente el lilio bello;
>
> mientras a cada labio, por cogello,
> siguen más ojos que al clavel temprano,
> y mientras triunfa con desdén lozano
> del luciente cristal tu gentil cuello,
>
> goza cuello, cabello, labio y frente,
> antes que lo que fue en tu edad dorada
> oro, lilio, clavel, cristal luciente,
>
> no solo en plata o víola troncada
> se vuelva,... (Ciplijauskaité, p.230),

with Galatea in the Fábula de Polifemo, and the nymphs which appear in his romances.

Noticeably in the works of Góngora nymphs do not maintain the emollient prettiness of classical and mythological examples. They are more vivacious and robust in their actions than those who normally languish with little to do other than comb their golden hair. It would be virtually impossible to find a more lively company of nymphs than those Góngora watches in the romance 'En los pinares de Júcar':[3] at work or at leisure,

dancing and singing, they communicate a vitality and joie de vivre unrivalled in the romance nuevo of other poets. These are only one kind of nymph encountered by Góngora. Another species appears with startling regularity in the romances in particular, and indeed in the rest of Góngora's poetry. Ten per cent of his romances are populated by nymphs with a special passion for the chase. A dozen or so romances demonstrate the varying forms of the figure of the cazadora. Góngora must have had an eye for athletic beauties of all descriptions, yet for the most part it is still possible to spot the Petrarchan ideal beneath the the 'disfraz venatoria'.

The precedent for Góngora's cazadora is not entirely Italianate. There are innumerable classical examples of the young huntress in both Greek and Latin poetry. Vergil's Eclogues introduce the figure of Felisa, whilst prevalent in Greek secular poetry are hymns to Artemis,[4] goddess of the hunt and of wild animals, of chastity and childbirth, patroness of sportsmen, sister of the Sun (and therefore herself the Moon) and inhabitor of woods and mountains. She is known also as Cynthia, Luna and more often as Diana, with her thin dress, girded high for speed, her bow, quiver and buskins. She was notorious for her cruelty and if angered she could be appeased only by the shedding of human blood. She is related to many other primaeval mountain goddesses - Ishtar, Isis, Danäe - and her characteristics are displayed in the earth-mother deities of many religions. The cruel yet beautiful moon-goddess is a universal type appearing in the popular religious cults of Eastern European countries and in the folklore of the West. Many cultures fostered myths of the wild women of

woods or mountains. Spain has its own legend of savage mountain girls: the serranas, virile and cruel by nature, huntresses by occupation, yet fair, pale, dark-eyed and beautiful to look at. Particularly feared in the mountainous regions of the Basque country and Extremadura, their ploy was to seduce the lost wanderer before killing and devouring him. The Marqués de Santillana, probably attracted by the sensual nature of the legends, did much to soften the image of the serrana, and it is in her gentler, more courtly form that she survived in later lyric poetry. Góngora resurrects her fearsome nature, whilst combining it with her softer side in the sinister sonner 'Descaminado, enfermo, peregrino' of 1594. Hunting incidents in the romancero viejo frequently involve encounters with the supernatural:[5] the huntress may be a shape-changer who becomes the pursued doe in the love hunt. Participation in the love hunt almost inevitably leads to death, as does the encounter with the serrana. The aggresive huntress is a highly erotic character, often superhuman or other-worldly. Whether in the guise of Hecate or Diana, Julio Caro Baroja envisages her as 'el último avatar de una divinidad de las montañas'.[6]

In his romances Góngora does not always cast the huntress as a minor deity. In many compositions she is quite clearly human, and there are two or three precedents for this. One of these is again mythological in origin: Atalanta was the swift-footed huntress who participated in the hunt for the Calydonian boar, sent by Diana to lay waste the land. She was not a follower of the virgin goddess in spite of her own vow of chastity,[7] yet many nymphs, such as Britomartis, were

sworn disciples of Diana and therefore fled the company of men.[8] Another semi-mythic group of human huntresses were the Amazons. Greeks told of this warlike race of women who armed themselves with bows and spears, and kept their society free from men.[9] Originally depicted like Athena the war-goddess, in later Greek art they came to resemble Artemis, wearing the thin, knee-length chiton. Another such tale which came to light in the sixteenth century was that reported by one Francisco de Orellana, who claimed that he had fought with war-like women in South America on the Marañón River. This later became known as the River Amazon, although it is not confirmed that it is from these heroines that the river derives its present name.

Thus, in Góngora's poetry, the cazadora because of her multi-faceted previous existence appears in several guises and Góngora endows her with various combinations of those attributes above-mentioned: ferocity, cruelty, chastity, voluptuousness, fleetness of foot, and so on. It may seem at first a haphazard array of beauties, yet there is a marked development of the character of the cazadora and her attributes in his poetry. Likewise, she is not so stereotypic that she is forced to appear in a single genre. A study of the huntress within Góngora's romances reveals that he envisaged her as an essential element of both his real and imaginary worlds, serious and burlesque. With each new face that the cazadora is given, the attitude of her adoring followers is also adjusted.

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* * * * *

The earliest of Góngora's romances venatorios,[10] 'Aquí entre la verde juncia' (1584) takes the form of a hunter's complaint. The young man behaves disconsolately because he has been rejected by

aquélla/tan hermosa como libre.

His tone is one of stricture. He seems to be well acquainted with her and reproaches her for her fickle behaviour. Whilst those who are acquainted with the couple think that they are very alike:

que los dos nos parecemos
al roble que más resiste
los soplos del viento airado:
tú en ser dura, yo en ser firme. 11.29-32.

He claims that she is easily swayed:

En esto sólo eres roble,
y en lo demás flaca mimbre,
no sólo a los recios vientos,
mas a los aires sutiles. 11.33-36

summing up her nature with these words:

Bellísima cazadora,
más fiera que las que sigues
por los bosques cruel verdugo
de mis años infelices:
tan grandes son tus extremos
de hermosa y de terrible,
que están los montes en duda
si eres diosa o si eres tigre. 11.17-24.

Although not directly identified with the goddess Diana here, the comparison between her beauty and her cruel, tyrannical behaviour suggests a parallel. The aspects she has in common with Diana are her passion for hunting and her desire for the death of the man who pursues her, or so Daliso claims. In her

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de hermosa y de terrible,
que están los montes en duda
si eres diosa o si eres tigre. 11.17-24.

Although not directly identified with the goddess Diana here, the comparison between her beauty and her cruel, tyrannical behaviour suggests a parallel. The aspects she has in common with Diana are her passion for hunting and her desire for the death of the man who pursues her, or so Daliso claims. In her

determination to be his executioner she is as tyrannical as wild beasts. Yet Nise is not Diana; she has sworn no vow of chastity and her actions are not directly harmful to the languishing hunter. She has done no more than withdraw from hunting.

> No porque no gustes de ello,
> sino porque no te obligue
> el encontrarme en la caza
> a que siquiera me mires. 11.45-48

he moans. Hunting is her normal living. She hangs the skins of the game on the walls of her hut to dry. The very mountains are distressed by her absence:

> ...el mismo monte se agravia
> de que tus pies no le pisen, 11.51-52.

To withdraw from her livelihood in this way would suggest a deep aversion to Daliso. Abandoning her hunting is for her the supreme sacrifice over which she would be deeply miserable. It would be no wonder then if she did wish that Daliso might die.

Daliso is creating a nuisance not only to Nise but to the normal functioning of life on the mountain. Whilst he complains of her avoidance of him he cannot see that he is the cause of equal suffering to others.

As has been noted, Nise is not explicitly identified with Diana, yet her presence is so greatly missed that it becomes clear that to 'los monteros' she is more than human. They sigh for her return to the skin-bedecked mountain abode that she has abandoned.[11] To these people and to the mountain she normally inhabits, she is the very springtime, the fertility nymph, like Proserpine, whose feet

por el rastro que dejaban
de rosas y de jazmines,
tanto que eran a sus campos
tus dos plantas dos abriles. ll.53-56.

Nise is to these people as much a spring deity as a hunting deity. Her disdain for Daliso is not because of chastity or frigidity, for she is fertility incarnate, but for sheer personal dislike. Daliso suggests that she flatters herself by her self-esteem; he is too vain to realise that the reaction of all Nature to her absence is ample proof of her superiority over all of them, even though he mentions those two things in a single breath:

Préciaste de tan soberbia
contra quien es tan himilde
que, considerados bien,
todos los monteros dicen
que los dos nos parecemos
al roble... ll.25-30.

Unlike Daliso, both the monteros and the mountains give her due respect; they both fear and adore her, as fiera and abril.

Evidently chastity is not the key virtue in this poem. Fertility is an altogether more important attribute in this early vision of the cazadora. Neither is chastity the key to a much later version of the same figure. In the romance 'En tanto que mis vacas' of 1601 a cowherd laments over a similar incident with his

...áspera, invencible,
segunda Galatea; ll.7-8.

The first Galatea was not a paragon of virtue in spite of her incomparable beauty. The statement in fact rules out all notion of her virginity for, as Góngora was to show in his

version of the story more than a decade later, she loved the young Acis:[12]

> El ronco arrullo al joven solicita;
> mas, con desvíos Galatea suaves,
> a su audacia los términos limita,
> y el aplauso al concento de las aves.
> Entre las ondas y la fruta, imita
> Acis al siempre ayuno en penas graves:
> que, en tanta gloria, infierno son no breve,
> fugitivo cristal, pomos de nieve.
>
> No a las palomas concedió Cupido
> juntar de sus dos picos los rubíes,
> cuando al clavel el joven atrevido
> las dos hojas le chupa carmesíes.
> Cuantas produce Pafo, engendra Gnido,
> negras violas, blancas alhelíes,
> llueven sobre el que Amor quiere que sea
> tálamo de Acis ya y de Galatea.

The huntress Galatea, if that is her name, is likewise an unchaste beauty, deaf to the song of the cowherd as Galatea was to that of the shepherd Polyphemus. Her distinguishing characteristics are also similar to those of Nise:

Bellísima cazadora, más fiera que las que sigues 11.17-18.	"Divina cazadora, que de seguir las fieras has dado en imitallas, y para mí excedellas, 11.20-23.
...están los montes en duda si eres diosa o si eres tigre. 11.23-24.	parece niño Amor, y es fiera brava!" 1.19 "¡Oh, fiera, le dice, segunda Galatea!" 11.42-43.

The tone of the later romance is less intimate than that of the earlier. The lovesick cowherd is not railing at a known woman but is rather asking a vision, more in his imagination than flesh and blood, to put him out of his misery with a

shot from her bow:

> de esa tu media luna
> junta las empulgueras,
> y al desdén satisfaga
> la más volante flecha,
> que saldrá a recibilla
> por jubilar sus penas
> en el pecho que huyes,
> el alma que desdeñas. 11.24-31.

The cowherd's attitude to her disdain is totally opposed to that of Daliso. He wishes to meet his death by her hand to be out of his own misery and to cease offending her at the same time, in the manner of the true courtly lover. He will gladly rush out to meet her oncoming, death-dealing arrow.

However, he is unprepared for the reality. Instead of appearing before him with her bowstring taut she appears as the fiera that she really is, bursting out of the thicket in the form of a wild boar. The death he faces now will not be swift and sweet, but instead cruel and painful. A further allusion that Góngora deliberately intends to suggest here is the wrath of the rival. In mythology Adonis the hunter was gored to death by his rival for Venus's love, Mars, in the form of a wild boar. Whether the boar which surprises the cowherd is the rival, the goddess herself or some revenge sent out by her in the shape of a second Calydonian boar, is impossible to say. The intention is nevertheless clear. The cowherd is to meet an untimely and painful death for his devotion to the cazadora.

Fifteen years separate these two romances yet the female figure in each of them is described in almost identical terms. This was not however the first time that Góngora had employed a hunting motif in his poetry. In a canción of 1582,

'Corcilla temerosa' the huntress Clori flees from amorous pursuit as swiftly as any deer would from her bow, whilst the lusty wind takes its own liberties with her:[13]

El viento delicado
Haze de sus cabellos
Mil crespos nudos por la blanca espalda,
I auiendose abrigado
Lasciuamente en ellos,
A luchar baja vn poco con la falda,
Donde, no sin decoro,
Por bruxula, aunque breue,
Muestra la blanca nieue,
Entre los lazos del cothurno de oro;.

* * * * *

A romance of 1590, 'Frescos airecillos', also tells of how the wind approaches the cazadora, this time as a messenger carrying the poet's words. The ninfa of this romance, when she appears in the second half of the poem, is similar in appearance and gesture to Nise. Like Nise, Leda seems to be known to Daliso, although in some senses she seems more idealized. She does not take so much blame from her lover who instead pays her more reverence in his tone and in the words with which he addresses her:

Bellísima Leda,
gloria de los bosques, ll.94-95.

There is not the slightest suggestion here, however, that she is anything other than flesh and blood. Her beauty and aspect are now a little more rustic, and her origins are specific:

una Ninfa bella,
que pisa orgullosa
del Betis la arena,
montaraz, gallarda,
temida en la sierra
más por su mirar
que por sus saetas; ll.58-64.

Further described as the 'honor de la aldea', she is an Andalusian village girl who loves to hunt on the mountain.[14] Her humanity is emphasized by her association with the heroine Atalanta, rather than with the immortal Diana, in her fleetness of foot:

> siguiendo las fieras;
> ahora en el llano
> con planta ligera
> fatigando al corzo,
> que herido vuela; ll.68-72.

Unlike the goddess she eventually tires of her labours and takes a rest:

> cuando ya cansada
> de la caza vuelva
> a dejar al río
> el sudor en perlas; ll.77-80

and a bath. A later <u>décima</u> (1603)[15] also depicts a

> fatigada cazadora
> que blancos lilios fue una hora
> a las horas de la fuente.

Her attitude to the suppliant, however, has not changed in the least, remaining identical to that of both goddess and heroine - she is 'la ingrata' who gives the unequivocal reply:[16]

> - Muere allá, y no vuelvas
> a adorar mi sombra
> y a arrastrar cadenas -. number 29, ll.117-120.

* * * * *

Although six years separate 'Frescos airecillos' and 'Aquí entre la verde juncia' they are inextricably linked to another <u>romance</u>, this time dating from 1594, 'Moriste, Ninfa

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Bella' (number 40), by the name Daliso, ostensibly used by Góngora to represent his own poetic self.[17] In this romance there is little physical description of the ninfa bella, although in striking contrast to some, her most prized attribute is her chastity. She is hailed as 'la casta cazadora'[18] and upon her death it is not Cupid the god of erotic love who is most affected but:

> Moriste, y Amor luego
> rompió el arco impaciente,
> casto Amor,... ll.5-8.

Once her bones are laid to rest her tomb assumes her virtue:

> Tumba es hoy de tus huesos,
> casta, ll.37-38.

Along with her chastity is celebrated the swiftness of Atalanta:

> Ligera a los pies fuiste
> del corcillo, ll.29-30

and her sensuality is also suggested by the lines:

> La casta cazadora
> seguiste puntualmente,
> ya en los montes armada,
> ya desnuda en la fuente. ll.25-28.

Once dead, however, the mortality of the flesh is replaced by the everlasting life of the chaste and pure soul:

> ¡Oh alma, que eres ya
> deidad resplandeciente! ll.53-54.

In this romance Góngora subordinates the description of the cazadora's attributes and personality to an account of Nature's loss. Although not a goddess whilst alive, her soul proves

immortal, as that of a nun would be. Dedicated to the nun Doña Luisa de Cardona, the lines of the poem give no direct clue to her identity until the final elegiac quatrain:

> "...Memoria soy de un Sol
> que el Turia fue su oriente,
> y su occidente el Tajo:
> dilo de gente en gente." ll.81-84.

Without this final reference and the dedication with which the romance is normally headed, the romance might appear to be cynegetic like the others. The only major difference to be found in the nature of the huntress as depicted by Góngora is her greatly guarded and prized chastity. The poet's attitude towards her is, however, totally altered from that of the previous two romances. Daliso in 'Aquí entre la verde juncia' chides the huntress for her disdainful behaviour. In 'Frescos airecillos' he sends a messenger to plead his cause in spite of her indifference. In 'Moriste, Ninfa Bella' in spite of her purity, it is not the fault of the cazadora that she is now unattainable. Although his desire has been completely confounded, Daliso shows a sad reverence towards her and a very great respect for her closely-guarded chastity. In this, 'Moriste, Ninfa Bella' is unique. It is the only romance fúnebre written by Góngora, and in using the deities, characters and sensitivity of the pastoral here, he has created a miniature eclogue in the mode of Garcilaso's Égloga I.

* * * * *

Two further examples of the figure of the huntress appear in romances piscatorios - a quasi-pastoral form of which Góngora was an originator. The complaints of two fishermen over the huntress appear to follow directly on from one another,

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although some scholars doubt the accuracy of the first of these.[19] Both 'Las aguas de Carrión' (number 45) of 1599 and 'Sobre unas altas rocas' (number 46) of 1600 give a rather different picture of the cazadora to the one already seen in 'Moriste, Ninfa Bella'. In the five intervening years she has receded into the distance to become an ideal rather than an individual known to the poet/pescador. The emphasis on her chastity has also been greatly relaxed, and the admirer's role has altered for he no longer pursues her. The fisherman only stands and watches the apparition pass before his eyes:

> Vio la ninfa más hermosa
> que dió al aire rubias trenzas
> que en el coro de Diana,
> que bajaba de las selvas
> tras un corcillo herido,
> que de bien flechando vuela,
> porque en la fuga son alas
> las que en la muerte son flechas.
> number 45, ll.11-19.

The poet's stance is also changed; no longer is the complaint his own but one only reported by him:

un pescador extranjero	Sobre unas altas rocas,
en un barquillo...	.....
.....	aquel pescadorcillo,
¡Oh, qué bien llora!	.....
¡Oh, cómo se lamenta!	¡Oh, cómo se lamenta!
(number 45, ll.5-6, 9-10.)	(number 46, ll.1, 5, 9.).

In these two short romances the physical appearance of the cazadora is little changed from that of earlier. She is still 'la más hermosa/ninfa bella' and her beauty is even more like that of the Petrarchan ideal than previously. Her hair is blond and flowing ('dió al aire rubias trenzas') and her eyes are the instruments of her fatal charm because of their

beauty and their disdainful expression:

> Más despedían sus ojos
> que trae su aljaba saetas,
> y tanto más ponzoñosas
> cuanto es más desdén que hierba.
> number 45, ll.25-28.

She is still the 'dulce enemiga' of the Petrarchan tradition, with a hard heart:

> "¿Hasta cuándo, enemiga,
> competirá en dureza
> tu duro corazón
> con las más duras piedras?..." number 46, ll.19-22.

In fact a year has passed between the two poetic monologues:

> "Hoy hace, ingrata, un año
> que huyendo ligera,
> no te conoce el suelo,
> y atrás el aire dejas;
> hoy hace un año, ingrata,
> que el mar, como por pena
> de que tú no las pisas,
> azota estas riberas." number 46, ll.28-35.

The situation is unchanging. The huntress has remained constant in her attitude towards her suitors so far throughout Góngora's romances over a period of fifteen years, immutable whether she is a nymph in her classical role 'en el coro de Diana,/que bajaba de las selvas/tras un corcillo herido' or the fierce serrana who surprises the unsuspecting male 'cuando se vio salteado de la cazadora bella'.

* * * * *

There follows a noticeable change in Góngora's depiction of the cazadora bella from these extremely idealized creatures. From 1607 onwards, with few exceptions, the cazadora becomes far more refined. This is primarily due to the circumstances

under which Góngora was writing. During the years of 1606 and 1607 Góngora became closely attached to the Marqués de Ayamonte[20] and wrote many compositions to celebrate current events. The Marqués and all of his family were keen hunters and fishermen, and in April 1607 Góngora accompanied them to their favourite estate for hunting at Lepe. One of these compositions, the romance 'Donde esclarecidamente' (number 57), was dedicated to the Marquesa, Doña Catalina de la Cerda, herself a keen huntress, and her daughter Doña Brianda. This romance differs from those preceding it, not only because it celebrates 'dos términos de beldad', but because of its aristocratic tonality. As a eulogy to two ladies the poem resumes the description of the huntress as deity, unequalled by mortals, but here in duplicate:[21]

> El uno es la blanca Nais,
> el otro la rubia Cloris,
> cuyas frentes de jazmines
> son auroras de sus Soles;
> deidades ambas divinas,
> veneradas en los bosques,
> en tantos templos de amor
> cuantos son los cazadores. 11.9-16.

A divine figure again, she is here worshipped by hunters and fishermen simultaneously:

> Aras son devotas suyas
> cuantos en barquillos pobres
> o las redes o los remos
> en el Oceano esconden. 11.17-20

but the poet himself retreats from any personal relationship with her.

This romance venatorio (as are also those yet to be studied) is written in descriptive rather than lyrical style. These

two aloof, yet excellent, huntresses are fully described. Deaf to the sighs of their adoring followers, they hunt the deer, and wherever they tread, flowers spring up even beneath buskin-clad feet. In a similar fashion, pearls fill the sea while they bathe:

> Si al campo el cristal calzado
> viste de varios colores,
> el nácar desnudo al mar
> perlas da que le coronen, ll.41-44.

They carry their bows, 'ilustrando con dos lunas/las tinieblas de la noche,' - two silver arcs lighting up the night like the bows of their eyebrows defining their shining eyes, or two silver crescent moons, one reflected back in water at itself, the original and its likeness, mother and daughter.[22]

Another hunting poem of similar tenor is 'Con su querida Amarilis' (number 85), written in 1620, and headed in the Hoces edition with the epigraph 'A don Antonio Ponce de León y Chacón, señor de la villa de Polvoranca, yendo a Colmenar, muy amigo de don Luis, y no acabo este romance'. A eulogistic word-portrait of a patron with his wife had been used earlier by Góngora for the Marquesa of Ayamonte in the décima 'Pintado he visto al Amor' (1607).[23] 'Con su querida Amarilis' repeats the technique, similarly paralleling hunter and huntress throughout. Amarilis, a name taken from Vergil's Eclogues signifying beauty, is described as 'tan bella como divina' in harmony with Danteo who is 'tan culto como galán'. Not a virgin-huntress like Diana who had no prominent male partner, this 'hermosa deidad' is more like Diana Nemorensis, a huntress and cult-worshipped deity who was also goddess of nature and fertility and sometimes accompanied by a male

companion, Virbius. Amarilis' function as a fertility and regeneration figure is here apparent in the lines

> Agradecida Amarilis,
> flores las abejas más
> deberán a su coturno
> que al novillo celestial. ll.34-38.

As in the décima to the Marquesa de Ayamonte, it is the male who wields a lance or spear whilst she carries bow and arrows like the 'far-shooting goddess who delights in arrows'.[24] She proves to be an expert like her partner with her weapons:

> Obediencia jura al monte
> al venablo del zagal,
> y a las flechas de la ninfa,
> que aún vuelan en el carcaj.
> .....
> ...a la bella montaraz un
> un corzo expondrá en la forma,
> y en la fuga un vendaval. ll.21-24, 30-32.

One other courtly huntress appears with a male counterpart in Góngora's romances. Once again more descriptive than lyrical, number 77, 'Ojos eran fugitivos', is a romance in which the poet looks on only in admiration and praise for the couple. The depiction of the huntress is central to the romance, but as a straight descriptive passage it contrasts Góngora's usual method (up to this point) of mentioning each attribute at intervals. La divina Sirene is:[25]

> arco fatal de las fieras,
> arpón dulce de las gentes.
> Armada el hombro de plumas,
> Cintia por las que suspende,
> Cupido por las que bate
> a la ambición,...
> ...pisando
> inclemencias de diciembre,
> treguas hizo su coturno
> entre la nieve y la nieve,

corcillo no de las selvas,
sino del viento más leve
hijo veloz, de su aljaba,
dos o tres alas desmiente.
Síguelo, y en vez de cuantas
a los copos más recientes
blancas huellas les negó,
blancos lilios les concede. 11.35-40, 41-48.

Góngora skilfully adjusts what would otherwise have become a commonplace, giving a winter rather than a springtime landscape, so that the leather of her buskin comes between the snow and the snowy whiteness of her foot, which therefore leaves only the purest of white flowers in its track - 'blancos lilios' - suggesting at the same time the chastity and innocence of the girl.[26] In spite of this subtle touch, Jammes says that this huntress:[27]

> n'est plus la vivante incarnation de Diane
> (c'est d'ailleurs à Vénus que la compare
> l'auteur)

but I do not think he is correct in this statement. Certainly her beauty may rival that of the goddess of love, but her activities, her dress and her demeanour are all more than clearly those of Diana. Also, why Cupid should wish to goad his mother into a staged deer hunt is not elucidated by Jammes.[2]

The huntsman of this poem also differs from his predecessors, not only by his total lack of involvement in the scene (he is merely an onlooker) but also by his style of dress and method of hunting. He is depicted as a seventeenth-century Spanish dandy, with sparrowhawk and steed:[28]

> Joven coronado entonces,
> no sin esplendor, las sienes,

de los trémulos despojos
de un volado martinete,
cebando estaba a las orlas
de un estanque transparente
su baharí, que hambriento
picaba las cascabeles. ll.53-60.

Jammes suggests that Góngora wrote this romance 'pour célébrer un brillant mariage ou de brillantes fiançailles et qu'a cette occasion Góngora s'est plu à évoquer, en l'enjolivant sans doute beaucoup, la première rencontre des époux'.[29] The two young hunters of this romance seem a suited couple. She is likened to the feminine moon and also to the sun. He is her perfect partner. His sparrowhawk stands for prudence, manliness and bravery, and was the bird dedicated to Apollo and to the sun.

Jammes considers this to be the ultimate manifestation the romance venatorio (although I have already indicated a later example of the huntress figure in 'Con su querida Amarilis' and I shall discuss one further example) and indeed this is one of the most reformed images of the cazadora in Góngora's romances. Even the introduction to the characters is unusual here, although it is not quite unique.[30] Long introductions are also to be found in 'Frescos airecillos' (number 29) and 'Por las faldas de Atlante' (number 83).

The final romance to contain an aristocratic cazadora is 'Los montes que el pie se lavan' (number 59), written in 1609. Probably written for a young Toledan courtier, it is greatly refined, although very different to the two romances last examined in its portrayal of the characters. Unlike the less dynamic huntress figures of the two later romances (numbers 77 and 85) Jammes notes how here she is[31]

> toujours la même chasseresse qui fuit
> devant son amant désespéré, si belle que
> les fleurs naissent sous ses pas,...et
> si rapide, avec ses cothurnes d'or, que
> suele la voix de son amant essoufflé
> peut l'atteindre.

It must be made clear that Góngora is not merely duplicating the huntress figure from his earliest romances venatorios. Nevertheless, he does return to a more conventional use of the love-chase as found in traditional poetry, and to a far more symbolic representation of the cazadora. As the handsome hunter picks his way through the mountain forests:

> La luz le ofreció una Ninfa,
> que en duda pone a los cerros,
> a cuál se deban sus rayos,
> al Sol o a sus ojos bellos.
> De tres arcos viene armada,
> el uno contra los ciervos,
> contra los hombres los dos,
> blanco el uno, los dos negros. 11.21-28.

Her beauty is that of the Petrarchan ideal, or of Artemis/Diana herself; carrying her silver or ivory bow and bringing about the symbolic deaths of men with her beautiful gaze, emphasized by the curving black bows of her eyebrows. She is a far better representative of the classical picture of Artemis/Diana than any other huntress yet described by Góngora, with her three bows and her hunting dog at her side, the first time we have seen her with this companion in Góngora's romances. She is shod in golden buskins[32] and flees as swiftly as if she wears wings on her heels when her chastity is threatened:

> De un cordón atraillado
> un diligente sabueso,
> .....
> el la sigue, ambos calzados,
> ella plumas y él deseos. 11.29-30, 35-36.

The estribillo of the romance is clearly designed to emphasize not only the desire of the young huntsman, but also to reiterate the fact of her excessive speed in flight from her pursuer, who calls out:

> "¡Oh, cobarde hermosura!
> - dice el garzón, sin aliento -,
> no huyas de un hombre más
> que sabes huir del tiempo." ll.49-52.

The allusion must again be to Atalanta (see romance number 29). She does not flee to preserve her chastity for itself ('casta hermosura') but for fear ('cobarde hermosura'). Similarly Atalanta avoided marriage for fear of her adverse fate. Like Atalanta too, she is a superior runner, fleeing as swiftly as time itself passes.

Of all Góngora's huntresses, here is shown perhaps the most complete in terms of her evolution within the romances alone. Later portraits of her are less convincing, and are in any case written only for flattery of specific courtiers. 'Los montes que el pie se lavan' bears no evidence of a specific inspiration and the symbolic nature of the cazadora in this romance denies any possible identification of one woman. The romance moves with an almost classical grace and ease, yet the ninfa is not the classical virgin-goddess. She is a human being, a Spanish girl who inhabits the hills above the Tagus plain. The narrative follows the traditional pattern of the romance viejo; the young huntsman finds a beautiful girl in place of the wild beasts he intended to hunt. The wandering of a night and a day into the bosom of the mountain suggests the supernatural element found in many folktales and ballads:

Escalando la montaña,
y penetrando sus senos,
le dejó la blanca Luna
y le halló el luciente Febo. ll.13-16.

Yet the tone of the poem is, as was first noted, surprisingly courtly, and the action of the huntress, the turning of her head:

Volviendo los ojos ella
por flecharle más el pecho, ll.53-54

is a subtle Petrarchan gesture, or the flirtatious glance of a coquette.

It is in this romance that Góngora again creates a synthesis and subtle balance between traditional, classical and courtly elements. It seems that he is only able to do this by an exclusion of personal reference. Once biographical elements are allowed to enter these romances they become more artificial and, to an extent, less charming.

* * * * *

One more huntress appears in the romances, and she is probably the most unusual of them. In 'Por las faldas de Atlante' (number 83, 1620) a long introductory description of the flowing of life-giving water (as in number 77) leads us to a pool where Xarifa is bathing:[33]

...Cintia africana,
que absuelto el hombro del arco,
en las termas de su abuelo
el sudor depone casto. ll.21-24.

The identification of this Moorish lady with Diana the huntress is unequivocal. Diana, born on Mount Cynthus, was also called Cynthia. Xarifa has discarded her bow to bathe in a pool

which is fed by a stream of warm waters, and is attended by her nymphs (here represented by Celinda), just as Diana would be at her bath in the valley of Gargaphie. She has been hunting and now bathes to wash away the 'sudor casto' of her exertions. This phrase is not meant to emphasize her chastity any more than to suggest that her exertions were of an innocent nature. Her character is little different from that of Diana. She remains aloof and cruel; a look can kill as easily as her arrows:

> Si ignoráis, cruel,
> cuantas deben hoy
> vuestro mirar almas,
> fieras vuestro arpón, 11.59-62.

But there is an intimation of something more. She is not in flight or hunting. Instead, she is at rest, and the relaxed beauty and voluptuousness of the huntress, her ripeness for love,[34] is paramount as she bathes her smooth skin:

> ...se baña
> y se compiten lo blanco,
> y aun se desmienten lo terso,
> sus miembros y el alabastro. 11.25-28.

The erotic nature of the huntress figure is probably clearer in this romance than in any of the others, and the darker-skinned woman, as in 'Serviá en Orán al rey' seems to possess a more natural sensuality.[35]

This is the most voluptuous of all the huntresses in the romances, although her blonde sisters also convey an inherent fecundity in their ability to cause flowers to spring up beneath their feet, in spite of their shy retreat from masculine attentions.

What then does the huntress signify for Góngora? Her role seems somewhat paradoxical. She is, in the later courtly romances venatorios, little more than a vignette of the ladies known to him. In fact Jammes comments that from 1607 onwards:

> On peut dire qu'ici la poésie cynégétique change de nature: les images qui semblaient n'avoir eu jusqu'alors qu'une signification symbolique sont maintenant exploitées pour leur valeur pittoresque concrète. La "montería" cesse d'être une chasse d'amour pour devenir une véritable chasse à courre,...[36]

Yet the poetry from that period is not totally unrewarding as 'Los montes que el pie se lavan' of 1609 proves, in spite of the huntress's decreased symbolic role.

For the earlier romances, for the figure of the cazadora in general, even, her symbolic nature is of the greatest importance. In spite of the inevitable biographical arguments over Doña Luisa de Cardona, Doña Catalina de la Cerda and others known or otherwise, the huntress emerges as a universally symbolic figure - the embodiment of woman in all her guises and roles, from fecund earth-mother to innocent virgin. She enjoys both a spiritual and an erotic nature simultaneously. Returning to the monja cazadora of romance number 40, it might be asked why Góngora should choose such an unusual figure to praise a woman with whom he was allegedly in love. It must be remembered above all that not only was Luisa de Cardona a nun, Góngora himself had taken holy orders, and both were therefore sworn to celibacy. It is blatantly clear that the explicit representation of sensuality was not avoided by Góngora in his poetry, yet an obsession with it would be suspected by his peers and superiors. Therefore, to deal delicately with such

matters, his ideal woman would be necessarily chaste in order to match both her and his own social status. Theoretically, for a religious man, the ideal woman ought to be the Mother of God, Herself a Virgin, but to compare anyone to Her in poetry would be unwise for threat of censure and accusation of profaning Her. Therefore some other ideal, virginal figure had to be found to represent this eternal woman. As Jammes says:[37]

> ...pour Góngora et pour ses contemporains, la chastété prend presque inévitablement l'apparence d'une chasseresse; la rapidité de sa course ne fait que matérialiser l'impossibilité où sont les hommes d'atteindre la femme inaccessible.

The idea of the Virgin Mary as a huntress in her own right need not be so far-fetched either if one follows a logical line of associations. Diana was moon goddess and the Virgin Herself was associated with the moon in biblical lore, as the crescent moon represented perpetual chastity for both Christians and pagans alike. In the Canticles and in Revelation she appears as 'Electa ut sol, pulchra ut luna', a woman clothed with the sun, having the moon under Her feet and on Her head a crown of twelve stars. Artists contemporary with Góngora depicted Her as such, most notable examples being the paintings of Murillo, or Velazquez's 'La Concepción Inmaculada'.

It should be noted that the feast of the mother goddess Diana Nemorensis (13 August) in the Middle Ages became converted to the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (15 August). Góngora uses the association of the Virgin and the moon in the romance al nacimiento '¡Cuántos silbos,

cuántas voces!.' (number 79, 1620):

> - Uno, ay, niño, que su cuna
> los brazos son de la Luna... 11.10-11.

Here the Virgin is associated with childbirth. Diana was also the goddess of childbirth and the young came under her protection. As such the huntress is also a maternal figure - woman as the creatress and preserver of life, and thus chastity and voluptuousness go hand in hand. This fertility is manifested in Góngora's huntress by the insistent motif of flowers springing up beneath her feet. Her beauty and attributes in such cases approach those of Venus, Primavera or Flora.

The opposite side of the cazadora's nature also centres around the notion of her chastity. This can be considerably more aggressive, as we have seen in her ferocious pursuit of the wild beasts and her determined flight from her suitors. In this insistent avoidance of men she is the destructress, she who brings about the deaths of men by wounding them with the arrows of her piercing glance whilst remaining inaccessible to the desires she incites. In this she also can be seen as the figure of Atalanta who deliberately causes the deaths of men, underlining again her cruelty and ruthlessness. As the huntress who flees she represents beauty at its most fleeting, the possession of which is cruelly denied all men. In this she combines both the spiritual and the sensual.

Finally, when the huntress appears as Diana taking her bath, she represents erotic and voluptuous womanhood, the most sensuous side of her nature which incites passion in men, yet emphasizes death and mortality of the flesh. Those

who dared to gaze on the naked Diana were always mercilessly destroyed.

* * * * *

For Góngora, as for countless other poets, the huntress is the supreme example of womanhood in all its aspects. The English poet Skelton (1460? - 1529) also saw her as a triple goddess:[38]

> Diana in the woddis grene
> Luna that so bryght doth shene
> Proserpina in hell.

...a universal symbol. Góngora's constant return to the same images and aspects is, I think, sound proof of all this. Jammes is bold enough to suggest that the repeated appearance of the huntress figure converts it into a complacent cliché.[39] However, the above discussion shows that with so much variation among the representations, in spite of their symbolic similarities, this can hardly be accepted (except perhaps in the case of one or two of the courtly poems), particularly because Góngora has added a further element to his huntress. This element, which seems to have no precedent at all, frequently points out quite considerable equivalences between the huntress and the little god of love, a matter which I shall discuss in the remainder of this chapter.

* * * * *

2 : CUPID, THE GOD OF LOVE

Approximately half of the romances contain some reference to the mythological figure of Amor or Cupid in one form or another. Before I begin to examine the different forms and treatments of the figure used by Góngora, I will first look at the origins and earlier appearances in literature since classical times of the little god of love.

The love-god has been in modern times an ambiguous figure. However, this very ambiguity took root in antiquity. According to ancient legend, the great goddess Night, or Nyx, conceived of the wind and laid a silver egg from which sprang 'the son of the Rushing Wind'. This was the golden-winged Eros, god of love. Eros was known by other names - Protogonos, first-born of all gods, and Phanes, he who revealed and brought into light the whole world. In his Theogony (800 BC), Hesiod describes Eros as a primeval god, the son of Chaos, and at this time he was always depicted as a beautiful winged youth, the incarnation of the loveliness of young men and boys. He was a 'respectably old god, worshipped at Thespiai in Boiotia and at Parion in Mysia'.[40] Most notably, in early cults Eros had almost nothing to de with Aphrodite (Venus) and does not appear in literature until very late. In Hesiod he is attendant upon Aphrodite but is not her son. Only later, as romantic love between the sexes became a topic in literature, did the god of love grow in importance, although

at the expense of his dignity. By the time of Ovid[41] he had dwindled from a handsome, young athlete to a pretty but impish child. The bow he carries dates only from the fourth century BC.[42] Later legends tell how he was the son of Venus and her constant companion, as Cupid or Amor. Traditionally thought of as blind, he indiscriminately shot the arrows of desire into men and women; sharp arrows tipped with gold to incite love, or blunt, leaden ones to drive love away.[43] He appears in Latin literature, for example in the elegies of Catullus and Propertius, yet throughout classical and modern literature he usually occupies a subordinate role in the fables and tales of lovers.

Amor plays another traditional role as a god of death. Cupids were commonly carved on Roman sarcophagi as beneficent spirits, representative of the pleasant sleep of death. In classical philosophical and theological works Eros was regarded as the power that loosens or breaks the chains which bind the soul to the body, and in the Renaissance he was even to become identified with death itself.[44] Nevertheless, his main role, from Alexandrian times onwards, has been that of the god of passion and fertility. Cupid figures often in the learned works of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. However, he is not present as far as I can tell in the romancero viejo. Góngora was not the first to introduce him into the genre of the romance. Paciencia Otañón de Lope discovered a manuscript in the library of the Hispanic Society of America which contains a romance artístico (nuevo) dating from the sixteenth century.[45] It reads:

Quando sus cabellos Febo
en el mar bañado avía,
hizo oscuridad la noche,
todas las cosas cubría;
en los dessiertos boscajes
la luz desaparecía,
y las aves descansavan
de su pasada armonía.
Solo el buen pastor Menardro
no duerme como solía,
y asi estando el pastor triste,
vido qu'el sielo se abría.
Al pastor se abren las carnes
con el miedo que tenía.
Del cielo salen donzellas
de alta genealogia,
tiran un carro de oro
en que el Dios de Amor venía.
Cupido sale diziendo
con magestad y osadía:
- Menardro, ¿de que te quexas
del mal que yo te hazía?

(Rromance del pastor Menardro).

This may be the first known appearance of Cupid in the romances. Here the anonymous poet envisages Cupid as a triumphant Caesar, resplendent in his chariot, and this is reminiscent of Ovid too, whose love-god is viewed, somewhat ironically, as an invincible warrior.

Góngora also envisages the little god in warlike role. This, as I shall show, is only one of a variety of guises adopted by Cupid in Góngora's romances; guises that range from that of a bee to a sexton.

* * * * *

Cupid, it seems, has always possessed aspirations to be a little more than the god of love. A mischievous child, he seems to have liked, as many small boys do, to play at 'war'. Armed with bow and arrows at least from the fourth century BC onwards he plagues the hearts of men by waging war on them with his tiny darts. Apollo once reproached him, telling him

to leave the bows and arrows to the men. Cupid's answer to this was to cause Apollo to fall in love with the nymph Daphne and her to disdain him. Thus he proved the might of his tiny arms. The irony of such a case - love ought to be considered a peaceful occupation but often turns into a full-scale battle - is one employed by lyric poets throughout the Renaissance and Golden Age, following on faithfully from sources such as Ovid's Amores. Amores I i begins:[46]

> Arms, and the violent deeds of war, I was making ready to sound forth - in weighty numbers, with matter suited to the measure. The second verse was equal to the first - but Cupid, they say, with a laugh stole away one foot.

His mischievous nature is most apparent here. Ovid asks what right he has to do a thing such as this: 'What if Venus should seize away the arms of golden-haired Minerva, if golden-haired Minerva should fan into flame the kindled torch of love?'.[47] He argues that: 'Thou hast an empire of thine own - great, yea, all too potent; why dost lay claim to new powers, ambitious boy?',[48] but Cupid's answer is that which was also given to Apollo:[49]

> ...forthwith he loosed his quiver, and chose from its shafts that were made for my undoing. Against his knee he stoutly bent moonshape the sinuous bow, and 'Singer,' he said, 'here, take that will be matter for thy song'.

It may have seemed a natural choice of subject matter for Góngora. In his earliest romance (number 1, 1580), 'Ciego que apuntas y atinas', the first line reveals that the subject of the poet's lament is this tiny warrior figure, this 'rapaz arquero'.[50] Certain characteristics and actions of the god are outlined in Góngora's work and I shall now look at the way

in which Góngora takes up the themes to be found in Ovid.

To begin on a slightly divergent note, the early romance (number 15) 'Noble desengaño', written in 1584' is a rejection of the supremacy of the love-god. Only desengaño can overcome the six-year folly of the lover/narrator of the poem.[51] The lover describes how he has performed a series of sentimental rituals which distinguished the courtly or romantic lover whilst serving in Love's train. We see in Ovid's Amores how the lover surrenders:[52]

> Look, I confess! I am new prey of thine, O Cupid; I shall stretch forth my hands to be bound, submissive to thy laws. There is no need of war - pardon and peace is my prayer; nor will it be praise for thine arms to vanquish me unarmed. Bind thy locks with the myrtle, yoke thy mother's doves; thy stepsire himself shall give thee fitting car, and in the car he gives shalt thou stand, while the people cry thy triumph, and shalt guide with skill the yoked birds. In thy train shall be captive youths and captive maids; such a pomp will be for thee a stately triumph. Myself, a recent spoil, shall be there with wound all freshly dealt, and bear my new bonds with unresisting heart. Conscience shall be lead along with hands tied fast behind her back, and Modesty, and all who are foes to the camp of Love. Before thee all shall tremble; the crowd, stretching forth their hands to thee, shall chant with loud voice: 'Ho Triumph!'. Caresses shall be at thy side, and Error, and Madness - a rout that ever vanquish men and gods; strip from thee aids like these, thou wilt be weaponless.

In Góngora's romance, however, the roles have become reversed. Desengaño has vanquished Amor and takes his place in the triumphal car:

> ya de tus paredes
> serán ornamento,
> gloria de tu nombre,
> y de Amor descuento.
> Y así, pues que triunfas
> del rapaz arquero,
> tiren de tu carro
> y sean su trofeo

locas esperanzas,
vanos pensamientos,
pasos esparcidos,
livianos deseos,
rabiosos cuidados,
ponzoñosos celos,
infernales glorias,
gloriosos infiernos. ll.17-32.

Here then is a list of all the Error and Madness of Ovid's description, all the traits and acts of a lover suffering from the malady of hereos. They have in this instance, although usually the 'rout which ever vanquish men and gods', been defeated by desengaño to which the grateful narrator says:

Compóngante himnos
y digan sus versos
que libras cautivos
y das vista a ciegos. ll.33-36.

Desengaño miraculously restores self-awareness and commonsense to those he rescues from Love, and with it their true sight. Traditionally, lovers were considered to be blind (see note 43) in imitation of their master and love-blindness was a much debated subject, particularly in the Renaissance. Pico de la Mirandola judged love to be blind because it was 'above the intellect' and Giordano Bruno went so far as to distinguish as many as nine kinds of amorous blindness.[53] For Pico it was a blindness of joy, for Marsilio Ficino a mystical self-annihilation, in which the lover surrendered to the unknowing in spite of imminent self-destruction. But all poets and philosophers, even Plato, were agreed on one thing - that the highest form of love is blind. And Shakespeare's observation that 'Love looks not with the eye but with the mind' is surely a perfect resumé of the only mythological fable in which Cupid is one of the main protagonists. When Psyche looks on Amor

with her own eyes, her action causes him to vanish completely.

The lover's inability to see clearly was reflected in the artistic representation of the love-god as blind. Artists chose subjects such as Venus bandaging Cupid's eyes, and Góngora adhered to these traditions in his poetry - the niño ciego appears in romances 1, 20 and 72, and his eyes are actually bandaged in numbers 1, 28 and 48, as examples.

In spite of his infirmity the little god can shoot his arrows with a surprising degree of accuracy. As part of his campaign he hides in armed ambush, sometimes in the tree sacred to his mother, the myrtle:

> Desde el árbol de su madre,
> trincheado Amor allí,
> solicita la venganza
> del montaraz serafín.
> Segunda flecha dispara,
> tal, que con silbo sutil
> las plumas de la primera
> las tiñe de carmesí.
> (number 62, ll.85-92).

His expertise is underlined here as a second arrow hits the mark as accurately as the first. From even closer range he surprises Angélica as she tends Medoro's wounds:

> Límpiale el rostro, y la mano
> siente al Amor que se esconde
> tras las rosas, que la muerte
> va violando sus colores.
> Escondióse tras las rosas,
> porque labren sus arpones
> el diamante del Catay
> con aquella sangre noble.
> (number 48, ll.21-28).

His tactics are those of cunning; he lies in wait for his intended victim like the proverbial snake in the grass, again in number 37, '¿No me bastaba el peligro..?'. The lover

complains:

> todo en daño de las almas,
> ya yo lo sé por mi mal,
> que he pisado entre sus flores
> áspid que sabe matar. ll.29-32.

This same romance also illustrates how occasionally Cupid enlists help from the lady with whom he wishes his victim to fall in love. He makes use of her eyes rather than his own, hiding in ambush within them:

> Armado se esconde Amor
> de saetas de crueldad
> en los ojos que tremolan
> traidoras señas de paz. ll.33-36.

The god of love's campaign is no more than a trail of deceit - this arquero desleal attacks the lovers in question when they least suspect.

Of course, all this sly scheming would be to no avail if the warrior's weapons were to fail him. There is little chance of that. Cupid's arrows are in endless supply, as a comparison with a girl's copious tears shows in romance number 30, 'Lloraba la niña':

> ...lágrimas lloren
> en esta ocasión,
> tantas como dellos
> un tiempo tiró
> flechas amorosas
> el arquero Dios. ll.29-34.

Yet it is not so much the abundance of the arrows which lovers fear but their potency. I have already noted how in mythology and still later Cupid's arrows could be tipped with either lead or gold.[54] It is the effect of the golden ones which causes the greatest distress to the unfortunate victim. Ovid's

complains:

> todo en daño de las almas,
> ya yo lo sé por mi mal,
> que he pisado entre sus flores
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complaint is:[55]

> Ah wretched me! Sure were the arrows
> that yon boy had. I am on fire...

and in Góngora's late romance number 86, 'En lágrimas salgan mudos', the reason why a lover should burn is made clear:

> Previniendo diligente
> el más luciente harpón
> que viste plumas de fuego
> en la aljaba del amor, 11.29-32

especially when Cupid is preparing the arrows so that the lady will be fired with love for a man other than the lover/narrator. The burning effects of the arrows can, therefore, be manifold.

During the late 1580s Góngora's romances show Cupid as the conqueror of all who oppose him. 'Criábase el Albanés' (number 20, 1586) primarily describes the exploits of a gallant warrior. The narrator goes on to ask what use his warlike prowess is to him:

> si un niño ciego le vence
> no más armado que en carnes,
> y en el corazón le deja
> dos arpones penetrantes? 11.25-28.

'Gran capitán en las guerras/gran cortesano en las paces' the Albanés is wounded by Amor with the help of these:[56]

> Dos penetrantes arpones,
> que son los ojos süaves
> de las dos más bellas turcas
> que tiene todo el Levante;
> .....
> bien conoció su valor
> Amor, pues para enlazalle
> .....
> un lazo vio que era poco,
> y quiso con dos vendalle. 11.29-32, 51-52, 55-56.

This unfinished romance is proof of love's power being greater than that of war, an idea repeated in 1590 with 'Famosos son en las armas' (number 28). The romances are similar in many respects; a great warrior, this time Hacén, is praised for his exploits in battle and then becomes entranced with the charms of a woman due to Cupid's intervention. This second romance, probably because of its greater length, allows a more narrative framework to be built around the theme than in the previous example, but the effects are the same: when the warrior confronts Cupid, the little god wins:

> No le dio al hijo de Venus
> el moro poco placer,
> y detestando el rigor
> que se usaba contra él,
> miraba a la bella mora
> salteada en su vergel
> de un cuidado, que es amor,
> aunque no sabe quién es,
> .....
> De pechos sobre un estanque
> hace que a ratos estén
> bebiendo sus dulces ojos
> su hermoso parecer. ll.53-60, 65-68.

Cupid's tactics are a little altered from the norm. He uses the lady as a lure again, but this time he allows her to fall in love with Hacén, one supposes in order to soften the Moor's heart. However, the narrative remains incomplete:

> Comenzó en esto Cupido
> a disparar y a tender
> la más que mortal saeta,
> la más que nudosa red,
> y comenzó Belerifa
> a hacer contra Amor después
> lo que contra el rubio Sol
> la nieve suele hacer. ll.85-92.

The poem runs no further, yet this is just a beginning. The word comenzó appears twice. The barrage of arrows has just

begun. The outcome of the tale seems inevitable. By using Belerifa as an indirect target he will eventually capture Hacén too. The melting surrender of Belerifa to Hacén's charms must eventually win him to her and to love.

The duality of the love/war concept emerges ag in in a much later and far more complex artistic romance dating from 1610, 'Apeóse el cabellero' (number 62). In spite of his insistence that love is invincible Góngora adapts his theme even further. The opponent is no longer a fierce male warrior, but here a young country maiden, la colmeneruela, come to collect water from the spring. Nevertheless, Cupid views this girl as a greater threat to his supremacy because of her brave defiance:

> ven, Amor, si eres Dios, y vuela,
> vuela, Amor, por vida mía,
> que de un cantarillo armada,
> en la estacada
> mi libertad te espera cada día.
> Este cántaro que ves
> será contra tu fiereza
> morrión en la cabeza,
> y embrazándole, pavés.
> Si ya tu arrogancia es
> la que solía,
> al campo te desafía
> la colmeneruela. 11.27-39

and therefore his onslaught is intensive. He fires once:

> Amor que hace donaire
> del más templado arnés,
> embebida ya en el arco
> una saeta cruel,
> perdona al pavés de barro,
> no a la que embraza el pavés,
> escondiéndole un arpón
> donde las plumas se ven. 11.49-56

and then to make certain:

segunda flecha dispara.

The outcome is inevitable and the usual effect is achieved:

> La sortija lo ejecuta,
> y Amor, que fuego y ardid
> está fomentando en ella,
> le hace decir así:... 11.97-100.

Her words are a submission as she offers herself to the caballero she has met. Góngora causes Cupid to appear in person in the narrative in order that the little god may maintain his supremacy. Yet at the same time the way in which his victory is achieved is far more psychologically accurate than anything else yet described.

Whichever method he chooses to subdue his opponents, the god of love is a hardened, tyrannical character. He expects total fidelity from his followers, otherwise he beats them into submission, like the poor unfortunates in 'Contando estaban sus rayos' (number 72, 1614). He is a real slave-driver, here acting as galley master:[57]

> ¡Ay cómo gime, mas ay cómo suena,
> gime y suena
> el remo a que nos condena
> el niño Amor'. 11.9-12.

The fisherman/lover cannot help suggesting here that, like all tyrants, Cupid is really rather a coward:

> que vuela y sabe nadar
> .....
> Ciego nieto de la espuma,
> .....
> monstruo con escama y pluma,
> .....
> nadad, pez, o volad, pato,
> .....
> que en estas redes que trato
> el pato habéis de pagar. 11.78,79,81,83, 85-6.

So far we have established that those who oppose Cupid cannot win, but what about those who faithfully follow his banners? As yet I have not given a complete description of the little god. Góngora does this in one of his earliest romances (1580):[58]

> Ciego que apuntas, y atinas,
> caduco dios, y rapaz,
> vendado que me has vendido,
> y niño mayor de edad, ll.1-4.

The poet/lover's plea is simply: 'Déjame en paz, Amor tirano'. Like all tyrants and dictators Cupid has exhausted his adherent by his excessive demands. For ten years the lover says:

> ...he seguido a mi pesar
> tus inquïetas banderas,
> foragido capitán. ll.12-14

and now he realises his mistake. In an attempt to warn others he goes on:

> Amadores desdichados,
> que seguís milicia tal,
> decidme, ¿qué buena guía
> podéis de un ciego sacar?
> De un pájaro ¿que firmeza?
> ¿Qué esperanza de un rapaz?
> ¿Qué galardón de un desnudo?
> De un tirano, ¿qué piedad? ll.21-27.

To the reasoning man the answers to all these questions are more than obvious, but not so to a lover who has been blinded. One thing emerges clearly from this ex-lover's advice - Love is a tyrant and those foolish enough to enter his service can expect no pity from him. He is a hard master who thinks nothing of betraying his own.

Romance number 19, 'Ahora, que estoy despacio', is the song of a man who thinks he has finally escaped from Love's

service. The first half of the composition sets out to tell how much better life is when one remains: 'Libre...Amor de tus garatusas,'. It should be noted here that the narrator is not concerned with sexual love. He was clearly not celibate before his tussle with Amor:

> Comadres me visitaban,
> que el pueblo tenía muchas;
> ellos me llaman compadre
> y taita sus criaturas.
> Lavábanme ellas la ropa,
> y en las obras de costura
> ellas ponían el dedal
> y yo ponía la aguja. 11.57-64.

His warning is merely to avoid all forms of emotional involvement with the opposite sex. The narrator was able to enjoy the company of women well enough:

> ...Amor,
> antes que las flechas tuyas
> me hicieran su terrero
> y blanco de desventuras. 11.73-76.

He also regards Love as a traitor although inescapable. Love is also, in its worst aspects, filthy and degrading:[59]

> Sé que es la del rey Fineo
> tu mesa, y tu cama dura
> potro en que nos das tormento;
> tu sueño, sueño de grullas. 11.101-04.

This burlesque <u>romance</u> is probably the most embittered tirade against Love which Góngora delivers in all his works, and it ends with the final insult to the god of love:

> De gallinas son tus alas -
> vete para hideputa. 11.119-20.

* * * * *

The more aggressive side of Cupid's nature is also manifested in his roles within the venatic <u>romances</u>. Although

still of a mythological type, this is a slightly less conventional and obvious role for the little god to play - that of the hunter. With Góngora, however, it seems to be a favourite; one in which Cupid appears in compositions spanning the years 1601 to 1620. To best illustrate the development of the role I shall examine the relevant poems in chronological order.

It is not difficult to see how, for Góngora and for other writers, Cupid had become identified with the archer-goddess Diana. Lengthy description of Diana is out of place here[60] but as Bergmann points out: 'These two mythological figures share certain symbolic accoutrements but are opposed in their function in human society'.[61] Their bows and arrows are indeed the symbols of these functions: the disdainful Diana shoots to kill those who anger her with their lustful glances and behaviour, while Cupid shoots to incite love and lust. Yet because of the very nature of human love, disdain can either incite love further or, by the pressing of unwanted attentions, can cause rejection. The two sides of the argument are conceptually inseparable. In the poems of Góngora which follow the two symbolic figures are also inextricably linked.

Romance number 47, 'En tanto que mis vacas', written in 1601, is the lovesick lament of a cowherd, addressed to a huntress - his 'segunda Galatea'. A direct and clear reference to the Diana-figure ('Divina cazadora') as Cupid is to be found at line 20. Here, like Cupid, she lacks one of her senses, but it is not of her blindness that the cowherd complains but 'que es sorda'. Other symbolic attributes bear more precise comparison, as shown in the estribillo:

> ¡Mal haya quien emplea
> su fe en la que con arco y aljaba
> parece niño Amor, y es fiera brava! 11.17-19.

One might expect that when two figures of different sexes are described simultaneously problems of agreement and gender will arise. Rather than hinder, the way in which Góngora handles these problems actually aids his purposes of direct identification. The same device arises again in 1607 in the décimas 'Pintado he visto al Amor', in which the Marquesa de Ayamonte is seen as synonymous with both Amor and Diana. Bergmann analyses this startling vision:[62]

> The painting is Cupid, Cupid is the painting, and the painting is the Marquesa. Thus, Cupid, though painted, is 'vivo' in the form of the Marquesa, and the poem proceeds to bring that visual image of Cupid-Diana-Marquesa to narrative life.

I have previously given this poem in full,[63] but I would like to refer back to it in order to show how Bergmann dissects a potentially awkward gender-change:[64]

> Throughout the first stanza the ostensible subject must be Amor, since the masculine 'armado' and 'ciego' are used in the first few lines. No opposition of gender is emphasized between the male Cupid and the subject of the painting, the female Marquesa. However, with the first negative term ('no es ciego'), it is clear that this is no common Cupid, but an invention of the poet to modify a mythological being along the lines of a historical one. With the mention of the genealogy, 'la gloriosa cadena/de los Zuñigas de España' and the 'ella' of line 5 [sic] the nature of the subject is made manifest. (my italics).

Góngora uses an equally effective method of gender-transition in the earlier romance: although here he states from

the start of the poem that the subject is the huntress 'Galatea', the key to her identification with Cupid is again through a third party. This time it is 'una fiera', a wild beast which can be of either gender. Galatea is associated with the beast:

> 'Divina cazadora
> que de seguir las fieras
> has dado en imitallas,
> y para mí excedellas,
> .....
> ...¡Oh fiera, le dice,
> segunda Galatea!' 11.20-23, 42-43.

which is in turn linked to Amor:

> parece niño Amor, y es fiera brava.

The most important vocabulary relationship here is that between the verbs of being and seeming, of illusion and reality - parece becomes es and the intensity of this transition is enhanced because it occurs in a single line. Yet the illusion is clouded further. Galatea is not really a wild beast, but only imitates them, and perhaps even surpasses them in her impersonation. Ser, imitar, exceder, parecer become virtually interchangeable terms within this poem. Nothing is as it seems, and by the same token 'parece niño Amor' can easily be converted to 'es niño Amor'. The profile of each figure is hazy, and so Diana melts into Cupid as easily in this earlier poem as she does in the décimas examined by Bergmann.

D. K. Loughran's article - 'Góngora's romance 77 and the venatic motif' - describes what he sees as the 'ambiguity inherent in the figure of Diana in many of Góngora's venatic poems'. In his few comments on romance 47 he notices that she appears to be love incarnate but he does not pursue the notion

further. The greater part of his article is spent in the analysis of romance 77, 'Ojos eran fugitivos', dating from 1619, in which Amor appears in the role of manipulator. Loughran sees Diana as a 'source of mild irritation to Cupid' and it is in this poem that Cupid claims his 'playful revenge'. The god of love sets up a mythological chase which, Loughran emphasizes, is frivolous in intent. The huntress in question is Sirene - otherwise Cyrene, in mythology a lesser counterpart of Diana:

> arco fatal de las fieras,
> arpón dulce de las gentes. 11.35-36.

To turn to another critic of this poem, in spite of this specific identification with the goddess of the chase, Robert Jammes insists that: 'elle n'est plus la vivante incarnation de Diane'.[65] The reasoning behind his claim is that 'c'est d'ailleurs à Vénus que la compare l'auteur', but I think if one takes a closer look it can be seen that the huntress here is as closely identified with the god as with the goddess of love:

> Armada el hombro de plumas,
> Cintia por las que suspende,
> Cupido por las que bate
> a la ambición, 11.37-40.

In the intervening years between the Ayamonte poems and 'Ojos eran fugitivos' Góngora's identification of the two figures has survived, but with modifications. A new association between the two is introduced to the 1619 romance. Diana was renowned for her fleetness of foot in the chase, and Góngora reminds us of this in the lines in which she chases

the beast:

> ...del viento más leve
> hijo veloz,... 11.46-47.

This phrase serves as a reminder too that Cupid, or Eros, was in Orphic legend 'the Son of the Rushing Wind'. Here, then, is a further ambiguity. The wild beast with whom the huntress has so far been identified has now become Love himself. Instead of fleeing from Love, Sirene now pursues it and Love therefore has acheived his aim - to turn the tables on the goddess who normally avoids his arrows. This role-reversal is further emphasized at lines 69-77:

> Con media luna ve un Sol,
> que rayos y flechas pierde,
> tras un corzo que no huye,
> sino al Amor obedece.
> Sagaz el hijo de Venus,
> vengativo como siempre,
> vana piel le vistió al viento,
> que aun las montañas la creen.
> Engañó la cazadora,...

The huntress is tricked by Cupid's little joke, and for once his arrows are more potent than hers.

Although in this romance Góngora does not advocate a complete equivalence between the two mythological beings, he does maintain the dependence between them and at least once sets up a direct identification:

> Armada el hombro de plumas,
> .....
> Cupido por las que bate
> a la ambición, es.... 11.37, 39-40.

It is not until the ninth page of his article that Loughran recognizes their comparability:[66]

> Just as lines three and six of this section are parallel constructions, so are lines four and seven.. In line four Diana is likened metaphorically to the painless shafts of Cupid, which inspire desire in the hearts of their victims. In line seven the identification is completed. Here, the feathers of the arrows in her quiver are seen as Cupid's wings, the analogy stemming from her seemingly capricious method of hunting and her covetousness.

This admission appears late in Loughran's article and he seems not to have noticed in earlier discussion the even closer comparisons made in yet another romance.

One year after 'Ojos eran fugitivos', in 1620, Góngora wrote 'Por las faldas de Atlante' (number 83), a romance which renews the Cupid/Diana controversy. I have already discussed this romance in an earlier section with reference to Diana as the huntress. This is the aspect also emphasized by Loughran:[67]

> she is an enigma to men and a source of mild irritation to Cupid

and his argument is that here Cupid again tries to inflict revenge upon her. Cupid's method is to stoke the fires of love beneath her baths using his arrow-shafts for fuel:

> ...Amor fomenta el fuego
> con la leña de sus dardos
> para templarle a Xarifa
> uno con otro contrario: ll.17-20

and once more to manipulate the environment by dictating the words of Celinda's song.

Loughran gives considerable thought to this romance yet he chooses to ignore a fundamental point:- that the poem clearly identifies and fuses the two figures in the words of the song:

'Con arco y aljaba,
¿quién dicen que soy?
¿el hijo de Venus?
¿la hermana del Sol?

¿Quién dicen que soy?
El hijo de Venus;
Dicen bien;
La hermana del Sol;
Dicen mejor. ll.33-41.

Although Loughran notes the majority of these direct identifications of the two figures, he seems unwilling to pursue the implications of them. In each romance we have seen Cupid and either Diana or a mortal counterpart of her linked in such a way that they cannot possibly be separated. They become as one being: the graceful youth Eros degenerates into a pudgy girl-child cherub; the soft curves of the young woman are lengthened and strengthened into the athletic boyishness of the goddess of the chase. The hermaphroditic and paradoxical nature of love is emphasized in the estribillo of romance 83, in which 'the inherent ambiguity of Diana'[68] also reveals that of Cupid.

Why then are these two figures so easily identifiable? I think because Góngora's view of the god of love had become more refined than that of the Renaissance putto-archer. Love not only pursues but can also flee when pursued. The arrows of Cupid in their two forms can be perfectly reconciled with those of Diana. They wound silently and can cause either death or relief. Furthermore, as this whole section of my thesis aims to show, Góngora's view of Cupid becomes increasingly complex. He ceases in the romances to be just a child-like and insignificant god and becomes involved with emotions and concepts normally outside his jurisdiction.

* * * * *

In both classical and modern literature Cupid has been known as a rogue, a cunning trickster, always able to obtain exactly that which he desires. His strength has always been his ability to manipulate the unsuspecting lover. This is to be found in its simplest form in a romance of 1595, 'Sin Leda y sin esperanza' (number 41). It is a romance piscatorio in which a fisherman is to be seen lost in thought in his boat. We are told that it is Cupid who directs this reverie:

> A calar salió sus redes,
> mas el hijuelo de Venus
> suspendiéndole de oficio
> le condenó a pensamientos. 11.9-12.

Cupid is able to choose his role, or rather Góngora casts him in many, as suits the purpose of each individual romance. In many of the early romances Cupid is given a hidden role. We have seen him operating in secret in romance 77. The hunting scenario is his responsibility yet he does not appear in person to Sirene. He creates illusions to lead others astray and into love. The machinations of the mythical hunt are considerably more complex than the pure thought-manipulation we have just noted, and in a romance of 1620 (one year after number 77) the process becomes even more involved. In romance 82, 'En la fuerza de Almería', he takes an active part in the narrative by entering in disguise, manipulating the lady's emotions and forcing her to react in a particular way. His purpose is to trick Celindaja into revealing her true feelings for her half-brother Hacén. This is again a repetition of Cupid's bête noire; he cannot bear to be defied by purity and virginity, thus:

Celindaja, que en sus años
virgen era rosa, a quien
del verde nudo la Aurora
le desata el rosicler. ll.13-16

is a prime target, just as Sirene and Xarifa are. However, his course of action is more direct than just acting as musical prompt or stage-manager. Here he becomes the principal actor, discarding his own identity:

desmintió su desnudez,
fiando a un mirto sus armas,
verde frondoso dosel
de un mármol, que ni Lucrecia
ni fuente deja de ser,
pliegue el dorado volumen
de sus alas el doncel,
redimiendo ciegas luces,
que más vendadas más ven. ll.44-52.

Having taken such pains to disguise his true identity, he dons his costume:

...un listado alquicel,
manto del Abencerraje,
.....
Del Abencerraje luego
copia hecho tan fiel,
que los dudara el concurso,
equivocado jüez, ll.42-43, 53-56.

All these preparations are only to convince Celindaja that she is speaking to Hacén - 'por no alterar a la mora' - and he persuades her to love him to the point where she reveals her innermost thoughts by blushing:

Extrañando la doctrina
del joven que hermano cree,
la vergüenza a Celindaja
le purpureó la tez. ll.81-84.

Cupid has succeeded in priming the girl ready for his full onslaught. His timing is immaculate. At that point the real

Hacên arrives and Cupid:

> sintiendo el dichoso pie
> del que ya conduce amante,
> cuanto cauteló el pincel
> desvanece, y en su forma
> pisando nubes se fue. 11.92-96

Góngora tactfully and skilfully omits what now takes place between the two lovers. His purpose fulfilled, Cupid, triumphant, can now disappear.

In the above romance the advice given to Celindaja is that of the stock classical persuasion to love, the topos of carpe diem from Horace and Ausonius' collige, virgo, rosas, in which Góngora, not least among Renaissance poets, was well-versed. The poet advises any girl who is still chaste, whether she is a princess or a village lass, to enjoy life and love while she still has her youth and beauty. It is fairly commonplace advice to be given to women, but Góngora uses it to a different purpose in one of his romances. In romance 71, 'Al campo salió el estío', dating from 1614, Cupid presses the same kind of advice on a young man, because he has no means of ensnaring him with one particular girl's beauty. The advice is vaguely menacing here, possibly because it signals the inevitable. Amor meets a young travelling reaper on the road and they fall into conversation. This young man is the exact counterpart of the women Cupid has already attacked. He too is determined to remain, if not chaste, at least a bachelor, as he tells Amor:

> Si lo mejor ya te di,
> que en tus altares humea,
> vuelva yo, Amor, a la aldea
> tan libre como salí. 11.25-28.

After such a challenge Amor will not allow him to escape.

Góngora reveals for certain that the reaper is handsome: he is described as a 'serafín labrador'. An anonymous commentator of another Góngora romance tells us that 'abrasada de amor, que eso significa serafín'.[69] He is of such marvellous beauty:

> ¿...si la tierra dos a dos
> émulos lilios aborta
> del pie que los engendró,
> porque no pise rastrojos
> la Alba de Villa Mayor,
> Sol de Uclés, y de Cupido
> el más luciente arpón? ll.14-20.

He is an unusually eligible young man, so much so that he can be regarded as Cupid's most shining dart, because of the effect he has on the women he encounters. Cupid's advice to him, therefore, is that he should not be so certain that he will go home as freely as he left. He predicts that the young man will return home with many hearts in tow, because Cupid has decided to have his own way in the matter; his purpose for the day is:

> A segar
> más almas con el mirar
> que tú con la hoz espigas. ll.22-24.

Cupid is going to make the 'souls' fall in love, (here implied) not with love itself but with the mirar of the young reaper.

It seems that Love is all-powerful and can manipulate the will of mortals as he pleases. He may give them unsolicited advice, or he may withhold it until the despairing lover begs for assistance in spite of his hopelessness. A fisherman in the romance 'Sobre unas altas rocas' (number 46, 1600) briefly asks Love what use it is to be in love at all:

> 'Si aquesta se te escapa,
> di, Amor, ¿qué te aprovechan
> los vuelos de tus alas,
> las puntas de tus flechas?' ll.41-44.

Another lover, in '¿Callaré la pena mía?' (1619), asks the little god directly for advice in the estribillo to the romance, '¿Qué me aconsejas, Amor?'.

The first three stanzas of the romance are full of questions to Cupid; should he be silent or shout out, is ambition foolish, will anyone listen to him?, and so on. The fourth and final stanza is a last desperate assertion on the lover's part. He again requests that Cupid should advise him; he is tired of asking and tries to sound determined: 'Niño dios, tú me aconsejas'. Cupid the god, he says, will know all the things that Cupid the child does not. He will be aware of what lies in the hearts of both the lover and his lady. Cupid is the only one in this unique position and is therefore the most qualified to advise him on his amorous problem. Yet there is no reply. As capricious as ever, Love denies his wisdom to those who most require it.

It may not be such a good thing for a lover to turn to him for advice. We need only look back at romance number 1, 'Ciego que apuntas y atinas', to see how far he can mislead a lover. It would seem that there is little sense in asking the blind god to lead an already blinded lover. In particular Góngora's early romances act as a literary proof that to follow Cupid's guidance is often disastrous. The question remains, is Cupid always so obtuse and wrangling in his dealings with lovers? Is there any proof at all that the god of love actually assists lovers, or does he always just provide pain and obstacles to happiness? The answer is that in Góngora's romances he does both, according to the poet's esteem for the lovers he is creating. Cupid is seen to please himself, but only in answer to Góngora's whims.

A favourite topic of the poet is the folly of love, and he presents all the foolish lovers of his romances in a burlesque mode, all facing only adversity. Such a pair of lovers are Hero and Leander in the 1589 romance 'Arrojóse el mancebito' (number 27). Hero promises sacrifices and perfumes to the gods if they will keep Leander safe in his marathon swim across the Hellespont. In spite of her devout (although ultimately lust-driven) promises:

> ...Amor, como llovía
> y estaba en cueros, no acude,
> ni Venus, porque con Marte
> está cenando unas ubres. ll.45-48.

When the gods please themselves, then humanity is abandoned to its fate. Góngora emphasizes the burlesque elements by giving trivial reasons for the gods' refusal to assist; Cupid does not want to go out in the rain with no clothes on, and Venus is too busy with her own love-life.

It can be seen that Cupid pleases himself in these matters. Were he to desire to overcome Hero like Diana, then he would have perhaps risked a soaking, but Hero is already won and her love, because of its physical nature, is of little consequence to the child-god. Yet Cupid is prepared at times in the romances to go to extremes to help out mortals in distress, particularly when they can be converted to lovers in the process. Perhaps the best example is romance number 48, 'En un pastoral albergue' (1602). The opening situation resembles several we have seen already; Angélica has spurned all suitors and Cupid has a score to settle, lying in ambush for her like a serpent in the long grass: 'se esconde tras las rosas'. However, once his wiles have begun to ensnare her, he is more

than willing to help her tend the wounded Medoro:

> Amor le ofrece su venda,
> .....
> para ligar sus heridas: 11.41, 43.

When envy tries to encroach into the love affair, Love drives it away:

> ¡Qué bien la destierra Amor,
> haciendo la cuerda azote,
> porque el caso no se infame
> y el lugar no se inficione! 11.89-92.

His assistance in this case shows how Góngora perceives Cupid as a basically kindly child in certain circumstances, quite unlike the callous god of others. It is usually in the burlesque poems that Cupid acts harshly towards those lovers whom Góngora depicts as foolish. Where the characters inspire more of the poet's admiration, there he (Cupid) protects their interests, and, of course, his own.

* * * * *

It is as true of the Golden Age as of the Renaissance that love between man and woman was often taken as a means to lead the mind to a higher type of love. Dante's love for Beatrice and Petrarch's love for Laura were to be viewed as part of a divine scheme, within the works of each poet; neo-Platonic loves, pure and chaste, which led the lover's thoughts heavenwards and towards God. Mystic poets later, in the same neo-Platonic vein, expressed their experience of Divine Love in secular terms, using man's love (even sensual love) for woman as a metaphor to describe the type and intensity of their mystical experiences. Both San Juan de la Cruz and Santa Santa Teresa de Jesús adapted the ideas and metres of traditional

love poetry to express what was otherwise inexpressible. Góngora must have been familiar with the poetry of these two poets, whose poems are sometimes allegories written within the guise of pure sensuality.[70]

Góngora, nevertheless, even though himself in holy orders, made no attempt to follow their example. In Góngora's sonnets and certain of his romances the praise of woman is gratuitous, often leading to thoughts of carnal rather than Divine Love. Nowhere in Góngora's poetry, in spite of all the precedents in Santa Teresa, San Juan and even Fray Luis de León, are human and divine love either associated or interchangeable. Amor is never to be viewed in his poetry as in any way angelic, as Santa Teresa's imagery associates a young seraph with the dart of Divine Love.[71] Curiously enough, however, Amor/Cupid does join the orders of the Church in one romance.

'Aunque entiendo poco griego' (1610) is a burlesque masterpiece in which Cupid is described in the role of a sexton:

> ...hecho sacristán Cupido
> le corrió el velo al retablo. 11.107-08.

Entirely jocular in tone, the idea of a pagan god as a member of the Roman Catholic Church is an absurdity matching the tenor of the whole poem. This is the single ecclesiastical or Christian divine role in which the little pagan god is found in Góngora's romances. In spite of the associations with divine and mystical love as noted above, Góngora never places Cupid in the seraphic role even in the romance 'De la semilla caída'. As the poem was written for the beatification celebrations for Santa Teresa held in 1614, this is surprising. An explanation for this avoidance of an obvious comparison may

be that Góngora wished to keep the two types of love - human and divine - absolutely separate from one another within his poetic scheme. One can only speculate on the reasons behind it. Góngora may have possessed too great a respect for the concept of divine love to associate it with a pagan system of worship. Moreover, had he done so it might have brought down the censure of the Church upon him. Once before, in 1587, he had been questioned by Church authorities about the nature of his poetry. He returned the reply that his poetry was secular due to his lack of theological learning and desire to avoid the sin of heresy, but further suspicion later in life, under a less sympathetic bishop's eye, might have been ill-advised.

Góngora's usual carefree poetic indifference toward Church matters, at least within the romances generally, coupled with the hint of humour and mimicry of the exclamatory linguistic style of Santa Teresa, suggest that it was not for fear of being disrespectful to the concept of divine love that Góngora did not associate Cupid with the seraph. The metaphor of sexual love for divine love was by that time so frequently used that it is also unlikely that Góngora avoided its use for fear of censure over bringing the Church into ill repute. It may perhaps have been that very frequency of use which persuaded Góngora to avoid the, by now, overworked comparison in his poetry. Góngora was not usually daunted by overworked topics, but his usual method was to burlesque them in all their aspects. To do so in this instance would have been highly inappropriate.

* * * * *

Probably the most original roles in which Cupid is cast by Góngora those which follow. In some romances the poet envisages not one but a swarm of minor Cupids; cupidillos. In 'A un tiempo dejaba el sol' (number 56, 1605) they are scattering flowers like cherubs on a baroque ceiling:

> Un dulce lascivo enjambre
> de hijuelos de la Diosa,
> vertiendo nubes de flores
> jazmines llueven y rosas. 11.97-100.

They appear again in 1622, 'La cítara que pendiente'(number 90):

> De golosos cupidillos
> mudó la corona enjambre, 11.25-26

and also in a romance I shall examine later, 'En un pastoral albergue':

> Corona en lascivo enjambre
> de Cupidillos menores
> la choza,... 11.81-83.

It should be noted that in these three quotations taken from romances of 1602, 1605 and 1622, the vocabulary and phrases used are almost identical, except that in the earliest of the three (given last here) the metaphor is taken even further and the swarm of Cupids is described as:

> ...bien como abejas,
> hueco tronco de alcornoque. 11.83-84.

The association of Cupid and Bee, and Bee with love seems to have first emerged in Góngora's work with this poem and continued almost until the end of the poet's life. The link between the two, apart from both being small and winged, is that both Bee and god have a tiny sting, almost imperceptible

on wounding, but which causes a great inflammation. A brief but very important passage illustrating this relationship is found in 'Esperando están la rosa' (number 61), written in 1609:

> ...el Cupido de las flores
> es la abeja y, si lo es,
> sus flechas abrevia todas
> en el aguijón cruel. ll.29-32.

Here the relationship between the two is set out explicitly and it occurs again a year later in 'Apeóse el caballero'. The final estribillo of this romance develops the concept even further. In traditional refranes the verb picar often bore sexual connotations,[72] and here this is employed to add deeper allusions to the tale of the girl who looks after the bees:

> que una abeja le lleva la flor
> a otro mejor colmenar,
> picar, picar,
> que cerquita está el lugar. ll.111-14.

This romance dates from 1610. Yet another, from 1614, 'Cuatro o seis desnudos hombros' (number 70), sees the Bee arriving on only to kiss the girl and not to harm her with its sting:

> tan dulce, tan natural,
> que abejuela alguna vez
> se caló a besar sus labios
> en las hojas de un clavel ll.41-44.

yet the sexual connotations are still present, hidden within this.

Once the sexual role of the Bee/Cupid has been established, it is used at almost every further appearance of the character. Although the stinging (the idea of penetration) does not come through here, the idea of the carnation as symbolic of the

girl's maidenhood has already been noted in other romances and is implicit.[73] The most important manifestation of love's sting is in romance number 66, 'Cloris el más bello grano', where the whole poem revolves around Cupid in the role of the Bee. He is also described as a cupidillo, following the pattern of the early examples:

> Glorioso Cupidillo,
> en las ramas de un jazmín
> colgando sus agridulces
> instrumentos de herir. ll.61-64.

The narrative of the poem is that the Bee stings Cloris' finger as she tends her garden:

> Entre estos nudos abeja,
> que haciendo puntas mil,
> tratar quiso como a flor
> a un ruiseñor carmesí,
> .....
> Un dedo picó, el menor
> de la arquitecta gentil,
> juzgándole quinta hoja
> de una blanca flor de lis, ll.17-20, 25-28.

It is interesting to note here that although it is suggested that they are synonymous, Cupid and the Bee do in fact play different roles for a while. The Bee stings, Cupid sits on the jasmine and watches the event which he had planned:

> Mal venerado el Amor
> de este romo serafín,
> sus armas envainó todas
> en el aguijón sutil ll.41-44.

At the very least Cupid incorporates all the venom of his darts into the Bee's sting; the reason for his desire to wound Cloris is the same as always. Cloris has not paid sufficient attention to the praise of love and Cupid does not like to be 'mal venerado'.

The whole romance is extremely subtle, almost tender. Nevertheless, although the sexuality of the Bee is well concealed, the tradition which runs through Góngora's romances means that we cannot ignore it. In interpreting any amorous romance of the subtlety displayed in this one, care is needed. An example can be made by studying one particular commentary on the romance, as Jammes does in his article 'Le romance "Cloris el más bello grano" de Góngora'.[74] Jammes examines an anonymous commentary of the romance and proves it to be overzealous in its identification of sexual allusion. Jammes is quite willing to agree that the flower imagery suggests virginity and the bleeding finger, loss of the same, however he is rightly sceptical of the long and involved explanations given for relatively simple words and passages. Jammes's conclusion is that the commentator is trying rather too hard to pinpoint the finer details of a liaison between the poet and a rather willing lady in a garden in Granada, for which there is no real biographical proof.

The Bee-Cupid is one of the most delightful of Gongora's creations. It enables the poet to handle amorous and sensual material with a finesse and delicacy that perhaps other metaphors would not have allowed. It is included in seven romances spanning twenty years.

* * * * *

In the previous section we noted a large amount of role-swapping between Cupid and the Bee, to the extent that the two at times became virtually synonymous. This also happened in one of the more traditional roles, where Cupid and Diana became identified at times. It is not only in character that such likenesses occur. This transference of traits can happen with

other attributes, and in part, rather than as a whole. In number 83, 'Por las faldas de Atlante' (1620), Xarifa's eyes take on the effect of Cupid's arrows as they pierce and win the heart of the onlooker:[75]

> cuántas deben hoy
> vuestra mirar almas,
> fieras vuestro arpón,
> el reino lo diga
> donde más por vos
> tiene que el Xarife
> vasallos Amor. ll.60-66.

This same transference of the traits of Cupid to another occurs in number 84, 'Minguilla la siempre bella', written in the same year as the above romance. She is described as:

> la que dulcemente abrevia,
> en los orbes de sus ojos,
> soles con flechas de luz,
> Cupidos con rayos de oro; ll.5-8.

This time Minguilla's eyes are not arrows but actually little Cupids.

* * * * *

Góngora's portrayal of Cupid in his romances shows a remarkable juxtaposition of the traditional (classical, Petrarchan, mythological and popular) with the innovative. Once again it seems that there were no limitations to his imagination, as one richly-worked metaphor gave rise to a host of others. In this analysis of the figure he can be seen in the roles of tyrant and churchman, god and insect. If nothing more, one may marvel at the novel diversity of these roles. Each one is worked out carefully, tried and tested usually more than once, and several are developed to a highly symbolic level. Perhaps the most striking feature, however, is the thread of continuity which

runs throughout the more important years of Góngora's poetic career. Cupid is neither a major nor a minor figure in Góngora's romances. He is just, like the theme of love in the romances, everpresent.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

1 M. Díaz Roig, El romancero viejo, 2nd edition (Madrid, Cátedra, 1977), p.267.

2 E. L. Rivers edition of Poesías castellanas completas, p.196.

3 'No es blanco coro de ninfas' (l.5) is denied by lines 13 and 14:

Alegres corros tejían
dándose las manos blancas.

4 Hesiod, Homeric Hymns and Homerica, translated by G. Evelyn-White (London, Heinemann, 1914, repr. 1929), p.452-53.

I sing of Artemis, whose shafts are of gold, who delights in archery, own sister to Apollo with the golden sword. Over the shadowy hills and windy peaks she draws her golden bow, rejoicing in the chase, and sends out her grievous shafts. The tops of the high mountains tremble and the tangled wood echoes awesomely with the outcry of beasts: earth quakes and the sea also where fishes shoal. But the goddess with a bold heart turns every way destroying the race of wildbeasts: and when she is satisfied and has cheered her heart, this huntress who delights in arrows slackens her supple bow and goes to the great house of her dear brother Phoebus Apollo, to the rich land of Delphi, there to order the lovely dance of the Muses and Graces....

5 See E. Randam Rogers article 'The hunt in the romancero...'.

6 J Caro Baroja, '¿Es de origen mítico la "leyenda" de la serrana de la vera?', Revista de dialectología y tradiciones populares, Madrid, 2 (1946), 568-572, p.572.

6 See my analysis of 'Frescos airecillos' for reasons for her vow, chapter VIII. Artemis asks of Zeus:

'Give to me to keep my maidenhood, Father, forever:... and give me sixty daughters of Oceanus for my choir - all nine years old, all maidens yet ungirdled'

Callimachus and Lycophron, translated by A. W. Mair, (London, Heinemann, 1921), Callimachus' Hymn to Artemis, p.60-61.

8 Apparently until the time of Homer the goddess was not known for her chastity. It would seem that examples such as the serrana may then have come down from an earlier cult form of worship of the goddess.

9 It is thought that the tales of the Greeks were based on stories about Sarmatian women (Southern Europe, 4th century BC to 4th century AD) who fought in wars and could not marry until they had killed one enemy in battle. Many were buried with their weapons.

10 Jammes, Études... p.413-14.

11 'La Serrana de la Vera' in the romance viejo is described as her prey escapes her as:

..... bramando como una fiera,
Saltando de canto en canto brincando de peña en peña

just like a wild beast. Wolf and Hofmann gives this and it is quoted by M. Díaz Roig, El romancero viejo, p.268.

12 Fábula de Polifemo in Alonso, Góngora y el Polifemo, III, p.206 and 211.

13 F-D, I, p.30, no.25 (1582).

14 See my analysis of 'Frescos airecillos' in chapter VIII.

15 F-D, I, p.237, no.142.

16 See note 11.

17 Jammes, Études..., p.148, n.85 elaborates this.

18 Jammes gives a further reference to this same person in the romance 'Qué necio que era yo antaño', ll.61-68:

Discreciones leo a ratos,
y necedades respondo
a tres ninfas que en el Tajo
dan al aire trenzas de oro,
y a la que ya vio Pisuerga,
la aljaba pendiente al hombro,
seguir la casta Diana
y eclipsar su hermano rojo.

19 There is doubt about the date of 1599. See Carreño edition note on p.276 and Artigas, 'Semblanza...':

> Decíamos que aquel viaje a Palencia fue el primero de una serie. Desde 1590 hasta 1617 no cesa de viajar por tierras de España con un motivo u otro. p.18.

He puts it at about 1590 or at least the early 1590s.

20 Jammes, Études..., p.276-81, 408-9, 427-31.

21 There is some argument as to which is which. Millé says:

> ...se dice que Cloris era doña Catalina de la Cerda, de quien estaba don Luis enamorado. Nada se sabe de esto (Artigas, Don Luis de Góngora, p.49). Pero no fallan otros testimonios antiguos.

Others say that Cloris is in fact Doña Brianda de la Cerda and Nais, la Marquesa. Either way the family's favourite pastime couples with their name gave Góngora good opportunity to pun in his poetry on the words cerda - cerdo - cerdoso and to compare the son of the family with the unfortunate Adonis:

A SU HIJO DEL MARQUES DE AIAMONTE, QUE ESCUSE LA MONTERIA (sonnet 1607)

Deja el monte, garzón bello, no fíes
tus años dél, y nuestras esperanzas;
que murallas de red, bosques de lanzas
menosprecian los fieros jabalíes.

En sangre a Adonis, si no fue en rubíes,
tiñeron mal celosas asechanzas,
y en urna breve funerales danzas
coronaron sus huesos de alhelíes.

Dexa el monte, garzón; poco el luciente
venablo en Ida aprovecho al mozuelo
que estrellas pisa ahora en vez de flores.

Cruel verdugo el espumoso diente,
torpe ministro fue el ligero vuelo
(no sepas más) de celos y de amores.

Ciplijauskaité edition, p.236, no.155.

22 Written in the same year, 1606, is the décima no.177 (F-D) which probably perpetuates the love legend.

DE DONA BRIANDA DE LA CERDA

Flechando vi con rigor
a vna nympha soberana.
En el arco de Diana
las saetas dél Amor....

Clearly the image is the same.

23 I shall return to this décima later, but Bergmann gives an excellent discussion of it in her book Art Inscribed (Harvard University Press, 1979), p.209-25.

24 Homeric hymn no.IX.

25 D. K. Loughran points out that this is a reference to the naiad Cyrene, a lesser counterpart to Diana 'who abandoned domestic tasks in favour of the hunt'. In a note to page 133 of his article he says 'In the Chacón edition the old spelling is used: Syrene', to prove that this is not in fact a reworking of the word 'siren'.

26 Compare Soledad I, 1.545, Beverley edition, p 98

27 Jammes, p 432

28 Loughran, p.126-27.

29 Vélez Guevara gives a dandy huntress:

Botín argentado calza
media pajiza de seda,
alta basquiña de grana,
que descubre media pierna.
Sobre cuerpos de palmilla
suelto airosamente lleva
un capote de dos faldas
hecho de la misma mezcla.
El cabello sobre el hombro
lleva, partido en dos crenchas,
y una montera redonda,
de plumas blancas y negras.

De una pretina dorada
dorados frescos le cualgan,
al lado izquierdo un cuchillo,
y en el hombro una escopeta.
Si saltea con las armas,
también con los ojos saltea....(1617).

See Díaz Roig, El romancero viejo, p.40.

30 Jammes, p.431.

32 Compare Soledad I, ll.545-47:

pedazos de cristal, que el movimiento
libra en la falda, en el coturno ella
de la coluna bella....

31 Jammes, p.430.

33 See chapter IV on the romances moriscos for a lengthier discussion of this poem.

34 See the section on baños de amor in chapter V on the romances rústicos.

35 Not just for Góngora. The morena is a well-known figure in the romancero viejo and in traditional Castilian lyric poetry.

36 Jammes, p.430.

37 Jammes, p.414 and 413-33 on the romance venatorio.

38 John Skelton, 'Garlande or chapelet of Laurell', ll.1357-59 in the Complete English Poems, edited by J. Scattergood (London, Yale U.P., 1983), p.350.

39 Jammes, p.442.

40 ...la poésie cynégétique a tendance à devenir, sous la plume de don Luis, poésie de complaisance....

40 Thomas Bulfinch, Myths of Greece and Rome (1855), edited by Bryan Holme (Allen Lane, 1980), p.123.

41 Ovid, Amores, translated by Grant Showerman, 2nd revised ed. (London, Heinemann, 1977).

The Art of Loving, translated by J. H. Mozley, 2nd revised ed. (London, Heinemann, 1979).

42 Bulfinch, p.123.

43 'Love looks not with the eyes, but with the mind;
And therefore is wing'd Cupid painted blind.'

Shakespeare, A Midsummer Night's Dream (London, BBC, 1981), I i ll.234-35, p.36.

44 E. Wind, Pagan mysteries of the Renaissance (New Haven, 1958), 'Amor as god of death', p.152-70.

45 P. Ontañón de Lope, p.180:

> Algunas noticias insertas en las folios 78 v°, 79 r°, 122 r°, etc., permiten fechar la mayor parte del manuscrito entre los años 1560 y 1568, y precisar el lugar donde fue compuesto: Sevilla.

46 Ovid, Amores. I i, p.318-19:

> Arma gravi numero violentaque bella parabam
> edere, materia conveniente modis
> par erat inferior versus - risisse Cupido
> dicitur atque unum surripuisse pedem.

47 Amores, p.318-19:

> quid, si praeripiat flavae Venus arma Minervae,
> ventilet accensas flava Minerva faces?

48 Amores, p.318-19:

> sunt tibi magna, puer, nimiumque potentia regna;
> cur opus adfectas, ambitiose, novum?

49 Amores, p.320-21:

> ...pharetra cum protinus ille soluta
> legit in exitium spicula facta meum,
> lunavitque genu sinuosum fortiter arcum,
> 'quod' que 'canas, vates, accipe' dixit 'opus'.

50 Also romance number 15.

51 Desengaño - el trato llano y claro con que desengañaríamos, o la mesma verdad que nos desengaña.

Covarrubias.

See O. H. Green, Spain and the Western Tradition. 4 vols (Madison, 1963-66), IV, p.43-73 for a discussion of this phenomenon of awareness of reality.

52 Amores, I i, p.322-25:

> En ego confiteor! tua sum nova praeda, Cupido;
> porrigimus victas ad tua iura manus.
> nil opus est bello - veniam pacemque rogamus;
> nec tibi laus armis victus inermis ero.
> necte comam myrto, maternas iunge columbas;
> qui deceat, currum vitricus ipse dabit,
> inque dato curru, populo clamante triumphum,
> stabis et adiunctas arte movebis aves.
> ducentur capti iuvenes captaeque puellae;
> haec tibi magnificus pompa triumphus erit.
> ipse ego, praeda recens, factum modo vulnus habebo
> et nova captiva vincula mente feram.
> Mens Bona ducetur manibus post terga retortis,
> et Pudor, et castris quidquid Amoris obest.
> omnia te metuent; ad te sua bracchia tendens
> vulgus 'io' magna voce 'triumphe' canet.
> blanditiae comites tibi erunt Errorque Furorque,
> adsidue partes turba secuta tuas.
> his tu militibus superos hominesque deosque;
> haec tibi si demas commoda, nudus eris.

53 Wind, p.152-70.

54 One of the most celebrated works on love of the Middle Ages, Le Roman de la Rose, tells how the god of love has two bows - one fine and one ugly - and ten arrows - five of each type. The golden arrows bestowed Beauty, Simplicity, Nobility (feathered with Merit and Courtesy), Company and Fair Appearance. The black or leaden arrows caused Pride, Baseness (poisoned with Wickedness), Shame, Despair and New Thought. In classical literature, the Renaissance and the Baroque period, however, authors did not generally indulge in such fine allegorical distinctions. See edition of Felix Lecoy, 3 vols (Paris, Champion, 1965).

55 Amores, I i, p.231:

> Me miserum! certas habuit puer ille sagittas.
> uror, et in vacuo pectore regnat Amor.

56 In the Romancero general vendalle appears as prendalle. Several versions of this romance exist, and Chacón

denies authenticity to many of the final quatrains as printed in RC, nevertheless, certain lines do add emphasis to the topic of love as more powerful than war:

> No le defendió el escudo
> hecho de finas diamantes
> porque el amoroso fuego
> es al rayo semejante
> que el duro hierro en sus manos
> le disminuye y deshace;
> no para en el hierro Amor
> que, sin errar tiro, sabe
> poner en el alma el hierro
> y en la cara las señales.
> Fue tan desdichado en paz
> cuanto en la guerra un fiero Marte.

See Carreño edition, p.166.

57 Here Góngora elaborates an idea of 'the lover condemned to row by love' from Garcilaso de la Vega:

> Hablo d'aquel cativo
> de quien tener se debe más cuidado
> que 'stá muriendo vivo
> al remo condenado
> en la concha de Venus amarrado (Canc.V, st.7).

Also in conjunction with this romance, ll.73-76, note canc.V, st.13:

> No fuiste tú engendrada
> ni producida de la dura tierra.
>
> (Pues nacistes en el mar
> nadad, Amor, o creed
> que os ha de pescar la red
> que veis ahora anudar).

58 Amores. I x, the description is:

> Love is both a child and naked, his guileless years and lack of raiment are a sign that he is free.
>
> (et puer est et nudus Amor; sine sordibus annos et nullas vestes, ut sit apertus, habet) p.58-59.

59 Phineos was a king of Thrace who had the dubious gift of prophetic powers. Jupiter blinded him and sent the Harpies to defile his table with their excrement.

Carreño, p.162, note to l.101.

60 See chapter VII, part 1.

61 Bergmann, p.213.

62 Bergmann, p.220.

63 See chapter VII, part 1.

64 Bergmann, p.221-22. Notice here that the quotation gives line 5 for line 15.

65 Jammes, p.432.

66 Loughran, p.133.

67 Loughran, p.125.

68 Loughran, p.125.

69 Jammes, 'Le romance "Cloris el más bello grano"', LLL, (1959), 16-36, p.25.

The quotation is feminine because it refers to Cloris.

70 For example:

> Véante mis ojos,
> dulce Jesús bueno;
> véante mis ojos,
> muérame yo luego;
> .....
> No quiero contento
> mi Jesús ausente,
> que todo es tormento
> a quien esto siente;
> sólo me sustente
> tu amor y deseo,
> véante mis ojos,
> .....

which is a gloss of a secular song. See An anthology of Spanish Poetry, part I, edited by A. Terry (Oxford, Pergamon, 1965), p.65.

71 Santa Teresa believed her heart to be pierced with this flaming dart, wielded by an angelic and youthful winged creature. Her ecstasy is beautifully depicted in Bernini's famous sculpture.

72 See chapter VI, romances rústicos.

73 See analysis of 'Minguilla la siempre bella' in chapter VI.

74 Seventeenth-century manuscript, ms 3.884 in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, described by Jammes in 'Le romance "Cloris..."'.

75 See also romance 71, already handled in this chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

THREE ANALYTICAL STUDIES OF

ROMANCES AMOROSOS

1 : GÓNGORA'S "EN UN PASTORAL ALBERGUE"

(The Romance de Angélica y Medoro)

Góngora's romance appeared in print for the first time in the Vicuña edition of his work in 1627, under the heading romances líricos. It is dated 1602 in the Chacón manuscript, and Bail suggests that it was written not simply as an imitation of Ariosto's Orlando furioso, but also as an attack on Lope de Vega's work La hermosura de Angélica, which appeared in the same year as the romance.[1] Its popularity was enormous, with whole lines being lifted from the romance for use in the comedias and novelas of later writers. Among the best known dramatists are Tirso and Calderón (Quien habló pagó, Jornada I and La púrpura de la rosa, Jornada III are but two examples).[2] Avalle Arce gives a long list of examples of borrowings from the 'Angélica y Medoro' and Rita Goldberg shows how it inspired dances in the popular tradition. One dance in particular - 'Baile del

pastoral' - begins with the first three complete quatrains of the *romance* and a similar but deliberately altered fourth quatrain before it abandons the source material to become a comic pastoral tale.[3] Of this interesting piece, Goldberg says:[4]

> Prueba incontrovertible es ésta de la popularidad que gozaban los versos de Góngora; muy conocida tiene que ser una poesía para que se parodie ante un público poco selecto muchos años despúes de haberse compuesto.

So celebrated was the *romance* that it was accepted not only into popular tradition but also into *culto* poetry. Gracián quotes several lines from it in *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*, firstly in 'Discurso V' as proof of proportioning:

> Fue este culto poeta cisne en los concentos, águila en los conceptos; en toda especie de agudeza eminente, pero en ésta, de contraproporciones consistió el triunfo de su grande ingenio: vense sus obras entretejidas desta sutileza:
>
> El cuerpo *con poca* sangre,
> Los ojos *con mucha* noche
> Le halló en el campo aquella
> *Vida y muerte* de los hombres.
>
> Y luego:
>
> Un mal vivo con dos almas,
> Y una ciega con dos soles.

and secondly in 'Discurso XXI':[5]

> Lo que unas veces se arroja la exageración, otras veces se detiene y se modera, que como de sí es tan sobresaliente, necesita en algunas ocasiones de templarse, y aunque dice mucho, pero no todo lo que iba a decir; de esta suerte cantó don Luis de Góngora:
>
> Yerbas le aplica a sus llagas,
> Que si no sanan entonces,
> En virtud de tales manos,
> *Lisonjean los dolores*.

Carreño tells us also of a comic reference to it in Estebanillo González, chapter IV, and quotes the lines to which he refers:[6]

> Habiéndome informado del camino de Yelbes, empecé a marchar a lo del soldado de Orán; y después de haber caminado hasta dos leguas, sirviéndome de norte una luz que estaba algo apartada, y pensando que fuera: algún pastoral albergue, apresuré el paso a ella.

The reference here is to romances which were popular - the soldier of Orán was a common theme for the romanceristas, but its use here is likely to be a direct reference to Góngora's romance of 1587 because it complements the mentioning of the imagery of lines 63-64 of 'Angélica y Medoro'. However, one must be aware that this is not the only time the polestar/guide imagery is used in Góngora's poetry. A closer quotation to the novela is to be found in the Soledad Primera, lines 77-83:

> tal diligente el paso
> el joven apresura,
> midiendo la espesura
> con igual pie que el raso,
> fijo, a despecho de la niebla fría,
> en el carbunclo, Norte de su aguja,
> o el Austro brame, o la arboleda cruja,

where the light from a bonfire acts as a guide to the traveller. Another traveller of Góngora's is also led to un pastoral albergue in an early sonnet, number 80, written in 1594. We may, then, securely take these lines from Estebanillo González to be a reference to the poetry of Góngora in general but not specifically to the two romances, even though this might be implied at first glance. What is clear, is that all types of literature of the later seventeenth century, both for the

educated man and the poor man took the opportunity to draw on this marvellous specimen of the romance artístico. The style delighted both the 'vulgo' and the 'docto' sections of the reading public during the seventeenth century, and has become an item for debate in the twentieth century.

Nevertheless, the romance ceased to be printed when the popularity of the romancero in general declined, and it was not reprinted until Durán included it in his collection of romances, classified under the heading of those taken from Italian poems and novels.

Since the nineteenth century the romance in question has attracted attention, and has appeared in other anthologies of Góngora's poetry (Jones, Alonso) and in anthologies of Spanish poetry in general (Terry). It is even published alone in a special annotated edition with commentary by Dámaso Alonso. With the spread of its popularity, in due course, a number of critical studies appeared, some arranged as notes to the poem within an anthology (like Jones's Poems of Góngora) and others as separate articles (Ball, Edwards).[7]

Dámaso Alonso examines the romance in the prologue to his 1962 edition of Angélica y Medoro.[8] This is primarily an analysis of stylistic and rhetorical devices within the romance to disprove the claim that it is 'natural'. The poem's artificiality is explored through the use of contrapositions and parallelisms, allusion and periphrasis, metaphor, imagery, hyperbole, cultismos and conceits, and Alonso's decision is that the work is 'complicada, manierista y afectada'; it is a 'juego...de tipo casi matemático'. Having looked at devices, Alonso proceeds to examine how both the themes of the poem

and their treatment are also to be found in those later, most representative works of gongorism, the Soledades and the Fábula de Polifemo y Galatea. The story itself he regards as material for the intensification of the theme of beauty, whilst the triumph of peace over war and country over court are sub-themes helping to reinforce the picture of freedom and enjoyment of love.

Both E. M. Wilson and R. O. Jones have given us analyses of the romance, but they adhere more to a contextual rather than a stylistic exploration of it, attempting to explain for their readers the more complex and less easily understood areas of the text. Jones's view of the poem is that nature acts as a 'refuge from the two evils of courtly life and war' and that the end provides a 'quiet comment on the precariousness of human happiness'. Wilson's analysis is more thorough and in depth, but his conclusion is the same - that Angélica y Medoro 'expresses the intensity and precariousness of human happiness'.[9] Both critics declare intense admiration for the poem in which 'the elaborateness of art is made to hymn the artless'(Wilson).[10]

A later article by Gwynne Edwards sees the poem as a new treatment of the romance form and one which anticipates both stylistically and thematically the 1613-14 poems.[11] He is concerned that Alonso underplays the thematic relationship between Góngora and Ariosto, which he feels is far more than superficial. Ariosto's theme is love which restores over war which destroys and this is, he says, outlined in the first twelve lines of Góngora's poem. From thereon the theme of Angélica's transformation through love is developed, with a move from war to wars of love. Other themes are the lovers'

pleasure in love and in the world of nature.[12] For Edwards, both Angélica and Medoro are symbolic characters. Medoro represents the pilgrim or wanderer of the Baroque age, who reappears in the Soledades, whilst Angélica represents the continuity between life and death:

> Aquella
> vida y muerte de los hombres.

He says of them:[13]

> He, the warrior, symbolic of man-made war and civilized society, is struck down, his armour pierced, and left for dead on the field of battle. Angélica, participating in the equally deadly game of courtly love, has built around herself a protective armour of coldness and disdain which has left her unfeeling, spiritually if not physically dead.

Of the conclusion of the poem, Edwards is less pessimistic, and in fact finds a triumphant note there:[14]

> if...the final allusion to the fury of Orlando, which will lay waste the idyllic setting, is a reminder of the precariousness of human pleasure, it is the intensity of that pleasure which gives the finale of the poem its note of intense rapture.

Other critics have regarded one particular aspect of another of the poem worth isolation for study or criticism; for example, Ramos Orea takes 'La noción de piedad', a word found in lines 31 and 35, and which Ramos Orea judges to be an ambiguous concept. Noting that Cohen regards it as 'pity', Rivers as 'sympathy' and that Alonso ignores it, he concludes that what Góngora thought of the word is doomed to remain a mystery for we can never know 'con seguridad cuál era su noción

de piedad'.[15] His suggestions for an interpretation of the concept are discussed further in a carefully written article by F. Marcos Marín who deals with 'el correcto tratamiento linguístico del término piedad', from both Latin and Castilian points of view. His study's aim is to provide 'una nueva prueba de la ineludible necesidad de comprender bien los aspectos linguísticos de un texto antes de lanzarse a interpretaciones sugestivas sin apoyo en la realidad'.[16]

One last important analytical study of the poem comes from Robert Ball who explores Góngora's use of imitation. In imitating Ariosto, Góngora changes the function of the Renaissance concept of imitatio and 'exchanges emulation for rivalry, imitating Ariosto only in order to supplant him'.[17] He draws attention to another poem on the same subject; Lope de Vega's La hermosura de Angélica (1602) and makes with this the major point of his article: 'I submit that the "Romance de Angélica y Medoro" is aimed as much at Lope as at Ariosto'.[18] Góngora's self-conscious style of writing leads Ball to believe that it is an imitation which reflects on other texts, and finally upon itself. Because it is a 'corrective interpretation' which presupposes a prior reading of Ariosto this 'imitation reduces the story to its hidden essential structure' and then displaces the time sequence. Whereas romances generally commence 'in media res', Góngora's poem in fact begins at the very mid-point of the story and then flashes back. The final part of the story comes into play from the word 'será' in line 71, a single future tense which stands out from the historic present tense employed both here and in the majority of romances viejos. Unlike Edwards, Ball considers the image of

love-fulfilled which Góngora presents to be darkened by the shadow of the rival's desire at not just one, but two points in the poem.[19] His final decision on this poem, attacking Lope even by name (line 131) is that it provides an:[20]

> index of his [Góngora's] increasing literary desengaño. In his radical practice of imitation, literature appears as words upon words, the production of meaning (poetry) and the shadow of meaning (criticism) in a single continuous discourse which makes the text into an allegory of the letter, 'literature as its own ideological critique'.

The tale of Angélica and Medoro is taken from the Italian chivalric romance epic Orlando Furioso, begun by Lodovico Ariosto in 1506, and intended as a sequel to Matteo Maria Boiardo's Orlando Innamorato. The Orlando Furioso is a long poem in ottava rima, arranged in cantares each supposedly containing a day's recitation. It uses all the traditional techniques of chivalric romances whilst being both more serious and more dignified, aided by its classical ideas and parallels drawn with the Aeneid.

Maxime Chevalier[21] finds that the tale is selected for imitation more often than any other episode of the Orlando Furioso after 1580, and suggests that this in some way due to a lack of sympathy on the part of earlier poets to Medoro, both as a Moor and a humble soldier from the lower ranks. Some later poets did try to rectify this unethical literary and social discrepancy between the two lovers by depicting Medoro as a knight.[22] Many examples of romances based on Canto XIX of the Orlando Furioso are to be found in romanceros of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, most of them

extremely mechanical in style, transposing large fragments directly from Ariosto's text.

Góngora's use of the theme in his romance is strikingly different from that of his predecessors. To begin with he does not write a dialogue between the lovers, thereby abolishing a common trait of all romances both viejo and nuevo. Ball, in his study of the romances, comes to some important conclusions about this lack of direct or even reported speech. Chevalier, however, dwells on a different problem. '¿Por qué' - he asks - 'el poeta que había burlado con sutil malicia de Belerma, Píramo y Tisbe, Hero y Leandro, trato como motivo de pura belleza la historia de Angélica y Medoro?'.[23] Góngora was not alone in his use of the tale. Lope's La hermosura de Angélica is proof enough that other serious writers were attracted to its potential. Both writers obviously read their Ariosto closely. But after their achievements, no other poet seemed to be brave enough to attempt the same. Rather than take Ariosto as their source, later romanceristas adhered to Góngora's poem. Several romances and even comedias of the mid- to late seventeenth century show major reminiscences of Góngora's work. It is sung in Tirso de Molina's Quien habló, pagó (jornada II):[24]

DOÑA BLANCA 'En un pastoral albergue,
que la guerra entre unos robles
le dejó por escondido
o le perdonó por pobre,
mal herido y bien curado
se alberga un dichoso joven,
que, sin tirarle Amor flechas
le coronó de favores.
Las venas con poca sangre,
los ojos con mucha noche,
le halló en el campo aquella
vida y muerte de los hombres.

Amor le ofrece sus vendas;
mas ella sus velos rompe
para atarle las heridas;
los rayos del sol perdonen.
Los últimos nudos daba,
cuando el cielo le socorre
de un villano de una yegua
que iba penetrando el monte.'

and recalled in En Madrid y en una casa (jornada II, escena V). Guillén de Castro uses part of the romance in Pagar en propia moneda (jornada III) and Calderón makes use of it in several of his comedias, among them La niña de Gómez Árias and Basta callar.[25] Avalle Arce supplies a list of examples of works which take lines from either Góngora's Angélica y Medoro or a semi-popular version which contained a few divergences from the original.

The popularity of Góngora's romance was not confined to 'culto' literature but was spread throughout popular culture too. Rita Goldberg shows how the poem was in itself an inspirer of dances. One in particular which she uses for illustration is the 'Baile del pastoral albergue', taken from manuscript 15403 of the Biblioteca nacional in Madrid. The first three quatrains are clearly repeated directly from Góngora's romance, the fourth is slightly altered to suit the purposes of the baile to follow but is still recognizably based in Góngora, whilst the rest of the work is just a comic pastoral scene without further links to the Romance de Angélica y Medoro. Góngora obviously extracted his idea for the romance from Ariosto but his work is neither simple translation nor paraphrase of his predecessor. Most of the romance is highly original work.

Ball shrewdly observes that Góngora alters the function of imitation. His interpretation of Ariosto's work is totally original, not servile imitation like that of those romanceristas who preceeded him. Angélica, dismounting from her palfrey at first sighting of the wounded Medoro, is a different woman to Ariosto's princess who remains on horseback until the arrival of the helpful peasant:[26]

> Nel ritornar s'incontra in un pastore
> Ch'a cavallo pel bosco ne veniva,
> Cercando una iuvenca, che già fuore
> Duo dí di mandra e senza guardia giva:
> Seco lo trasse ove perdea il vigore
> Medor col sangue che del petto usciva;
> E già n'avea di tanto il terren tinto,
> Ch'era omai presso a rimanere estinto.
>
> Del palafreno Angelica giú scese,
> E scendere il pastor seco fece anche;
> XIX, st.23-24.

Echoes of Ariosto's poem can be heard at the point where Medoro falls in love with Angélica:

> Tant'arroganzia avendo Amor sentita,
> Piú lungmente comportar non volse;
> Dove giacea Medor, si pose al varco,
> E l'aspetto, posto lo strale all'arco. st.19.

Góngora's use of the same material often proves to be more economical, as he says:

> Del palafrén se derriba,
> no porque al moro conoce,
> sino por ver que la hierba
> tanta sangre paga en flores.
> Límpiale el rostro, y la mano
> siente al Amor que se esconde
> tras las rosas, que la muerte
> va violando sus colores. ll.17-24.

Ariosto uses a complete stanza to describe Angélica's skill with herbal medicine:

E ricordossi, che passando avea
Veduta un'erba in una piaggia amena;
Fosse dittamo, o fosse panacea,
O non so qual, di tal effetto piena,
Che stagna il sangue, e de la piaga rea
Leva ogni spasmo e perigliosa pena:
La trovò non lontana; e quella colta,
Dove lasciato avea Medor, diè volta. st.22

and Góngora but a couple of lines:

Hierbas aplica a sus llagas,
que si no sanan entonces,
...lisonjean los dolores. ll.37-38, 40.

Ramos Orea found his notion of 'piedad' already in the lines from Ariosto:

Et ella per pietà ne l'umil case
Del cortese pastor seco rimase.

Ne fin che nol tornasse in sanitada
Volea partir: cosí di lui fe' stima
Tanto se inteneri de la pietade
Che n'ebbe come in terra vide prima; st.25-26.

As in Ariosto, Góngora employs the word 'piedad' twice within the space of a few lines but, in spite of what would appear to be 'verbal fidelity', 'translation', there is in fact an obvious 'differentiation of function'.[27] Ball considers this to be a phenomenon characteristic of only the first half of Góngora's romance. He says: 'At the midpoint of his version, Góngora is free to invent new material with much less verbal fidelity'.[28] Once the story and its obvious source are firmly fixed in the reader's consciousness, Góngora's romance takes on new associations and significances. Yet even the subtle alterations of vocabulary from that of Ariosto in the first half of Góngora's romance are important to our understanding of his intention. Ball associates the Angélica who leaps from her horse to assist

the wounded Medoro with the image of Venus leaping from her chariot to the side of the fatally-gored Adonis. She is far less restrained than Ariosto's heroine.

Ariosto's version of the story displayed the contrast between court and countryside, but Góngora's division between the two states is further emphasized by such subtle changes as that at lines 46-47:

> ...el cielo la socorre
> de un villano en una yegua

for:

> Nel ritornar s'incontra in un pastore
> Ch'a cavallo pel bosco ne veniva.

A shepherd on a horse of unspecific gender is less obviously rustic than the peasant on a mare. In both version the contrast is intended with Angélica's own light palfrey (palafrén, palafreno).

Perhaps one of the most significant differences between the two poets lies in their handling of Angélica's growing love for Medoro. Ariosto's description of the process of love is elaborate, beginning at stanza 26 and continuing as far as stanza 30. It is described through the metaphor of the wound itself. Love begins to grow as she tends Medoro's wound, which heals. As it does so her own love wound opens up and grows deeper, and, as in courtly love tradition, it is Medoro's eyes which first pierce her heart (notice here the role-reversal from the traditional ideas). As Medoro's beauty returns and grows, so does Angélica's love for him until the final image of her total surrender is introduced by a totally new metaphor:

Di giorno in giorno in lui beltà fiorisce,
La misera si strugge, come falda
Strugger di nieve imtempestiva suole
Ch'in loco aprico abbia scoperta il sole.

The coldness within Angélica's heart is finally thawed by Medoro's beauty, like a snowflake melting in the sun.

The process of Angélica's surrender to love in Góngora's romance differs in that, although he begins to tell us of the process at line 21, Góngora shortens the time span and lengthens the explanation of it. Her love for Medoro seems to grow more quickly in this poem even though the description of her emotions is interspersed with other details and even totally detached from her at times. Love, once more entering through the eyes, is here more cunning, more insidious, offering no escape. Angélica's melted snowflake tears are here tears from a different source, albeit caused by the same masculine beauty in the first instance. They are sparks of water (centellas de agua) struck by the arrows of Love upon the flint of her heart. Góngora has intensified the extent and effect of this love at first sight - it is an easy and natural thing for the warmth of the sun to melt bland, unstable snow and for the metal of arrows to produce sparks against the hardness of flint. Greater forces would be required to combine the two, to derive water from a stone, and magically Góngora combines the two divergent ideas in a superb conceit:

Ya es herido el pedernal,
ya despide el primer golpe
centellas de agua. 11.33-35.

The blow struck, Angélica's heart is not so much pierced but instead given away to Medoro:

un cuerpo con poca sangre,
pero con dos corazones; 11.59-60.

It is through her sense of sight that Angélica falls in love with Medoro. Her eyes are first attracted by the red flowers in the grass which turn out to be the spilled blood of Medoro:

Del palafrén se derriba,
no porque al moro conoce,
sino por ver que la hierba
tanta sangre paga en flores. 11.17-20.

She feasts her eyes upon Medoro's beauty and comes immediately under love's influence. Cupid, to assist, hands over his own useless eyes to her, as a present - 'ya le regala los ojos,'. In consequence (the series of repeated ya's emphasizing the causal nature of the process) she becomes as blind as Cupid himself and does not notice love entering her heart - 'ya le entra, sin ver por donde'.[29]

Angélica's eyes are the instrument of her surrender to love. Even the god of love himself now reveals his usually hidden eyes by removing his eye bandage to help bind up Medoro's wounds in a sympathetic gesture. Rejecting the child-god's offer she abandons all social decorum by tearing her veils up for bandages in a gesture parallel to that made by Cupid, and in doing so reveals her own eyes. Both thus uncovered they nevertheless remain blind. Cupid, as love, is blind, and Angélica is now blinded too. Góngora again combines two ideas to form a superb conceit. Angélica is not blinded by looking into the sun because she is looking through two suns, 'dos soles', her radiantly beautiful eyes. Looking upon Medoro she is blinded by his beauty and with love for him. As a 'ciega' she can no longer look on others.

Góngora further increases the erotic quality of the poem over that of Ariosto. The language of the second half of the poem is rich and sensuous, suggesting the langorous pastimes of the two lovers, yet they remain throughout as lovers and not as man and wife. The only reference to the state of marriage occurs at line 71 where there is a single reference to the marriage bed:

> Blando heno en vez de pluma
> para lecho les compone,
> que será tálamo luego
> do el garzón sus dichas logre. ll.69-72

but there is no mention of a wedding elsewhere. In Ariosto, on the other hand, none of the erotic frolics of the couple specifically take place until the nozze sotto (honeymoon) in stanza 34, although they are suggested:

> Angelica a Medor la prima rosa
> Coglier lasciò, non ancor tocca inante;
> Né persona fu mai sí aventurosa,
> Ch'in quel giardin potesse por le piante:

but Góngora does not feel the need to marry the lovers simply 'per onestar la cosa'. The poem is not about love in marriage, and its pagan elements render marriage an unnecessary addition. This is not Góngora's concern. Love can be complete without formal ties and constraints, and in spite of adversity. Nevertheless, he only once feels it necessary to mention the adverse element. Not until the final line does he speak of the 'locuras del conde' which are to threaten the peace of the countryside, and which appear in Orlando Furioso XXIII. Reminiscences to this passage of the Orlando Furioso are clearly evoked at lines 120-27. The writing on trees and walls of caves

is exactly that which sparks off Orlando's anger.

Yet in spite of Góngora's deliberate omission of Orlando from the poem, even if one is unaware of the outcome of the story, there are still hints of something sisister and destructive. Ball says that the 'radiant image of love fulfilled is darkened by the shadow of a rival's desire'. The nudos of the bandages (line 45) echo in the nudos tied by Envy, which are re-echoed in Ariosto's:

> Angelica e Medor con cento nodi
> Legati insieme, e in cento lochi vede XXIII st.103.

Envy appears as the sinister force which wishes to destroy love. In fact it is the very idyll of love which awakens envy in both general and specific instances. It was the love between Adonis and Venus which kindled the wrath of Mars, and here Medoro is referred to as being the second envy of Mars. Mars as god of war, and war being also one of the most prominent sub-themes of the poem, we are prompted to think back to the most war-like character of the whole story, and we remember Orlando. It is his envy which eventually lays waste the idyllic scene.

Góngora points out here a kind of thoughtlessness or disregard on the part of the lovers for their surroundings. Their involvement in one another's beauty prevents their appreciation of the natural beauty around them. Nature seems on the other hand to appreciate and fully participate in their ecstasies, allowing them to use it to the full. They nevertheless defile it with their unthinking games - carving their names on trees and shouting in the silence of the valleys. The

natural world gives them, for the space of time that they reside in it, all the comforts they require, and in doing so:

> No hay verde fresno sin letra,
> ni blanco chopo sin mote; ll.121-22.

It is this that brings about the destruction of the landscape's beauty. When Orlando reads the names on the trees his wrath is inflamed, but by this time the lovers are far away in Cathay. For their participation in total abandonment to love:

> Choza, pues, tálamo y lecho,
> cortesanos labradores,
> aires, campos, fuentes, vegas,
> cuevas, troncos, aves, flores,
> fresnos, chopos, montes, valles, ll.129-33

are all subject to the mad rage of the Count.[30]

In spite of the prevailing eighteenth- and nineteenth-century view that the romance was simple and natural, stylistic devices have been proven to be integral to it. Dámaso Alonso offers extensive proof of the work's artifice - 'cuán equivocado es la opinión corriente' he says 'que presenta este romance como un modelo de naturalidad frente a las afectaciones y cultismos de la llamada "segunda época"'.[31] He shows with an analysis of the stylistic devices of contraposiciones, paralelismos, alusiones, perífrasis, metáforas, imágenes, hipérboles, cultismos, conceptos, ingeniosidades, chistes, diseminación and recolección that it is as representative of the 'cultista' trends as the major works of 'gongorismo'. Several examples of unusual or latinate syntax are obvious in the opening stanzas and are crowned by the often-quoted Greek accusative found in line 101:

> Desnuda el pecho anda ella.

In terms of style, cultismo reveals itself in both syntactic device and in the selection of major and minor topoi for the poem. From Latin Góngora takes the topos of the locus amoenus as the setting for ideal love. This is a common usage and E. R. Curtius notes the connection between amoena and amor (as in lovely place).[32] The ancients used it for garden or landscape poetry when Nature was felt to be nearest to their ideals of harmony, beauty and peace. Amoenus was Vergil's favourite epithet for 'beautiful' nature. The topos eventually turned into the pastoral vista and it was here that it became linked to human love as a setting for lovesongs and repose. By the time of Horace it had become a rhetorical term and continued on in the form of the medieval 'Pleasance'. Almost all nature description of the Middle Ages followed its patterns and it came to be included as a kind of 'verger' in the middle of chivalric romances. This is its place within Ariosto's Orlando Furioso and Góngora restores it to its classical stature in his romance.

A further Latin topos to be found in the romance is that of 'latet anguis in herba':

> Límpiale el rostro, y la mano
> siente al Amor que se esconde
> tras las rosas, ll.21-23.

Love's darts, the sting of the serpent, lie hidden in the grass where Medoro lies bleeding. The allusion is apt because it also links to the fall of Eve, or of woman in general. The same topos came to be used again in Góngora's more sophisticated works, Polifemo y Galatea, stanza XXXVI:

> (En la rústica greña yace oculto
> el áspid, del intonso prado ameno,

antes que del peinado jardín culto
en el lascivo regalado seno.)
En lo viril desata de su vulto of Acis
lo más dulce el Amor, de su veneno:
bébelo Galatea y da otro paso
por apurarle la ponzoña al vaso.

and Soledad I, lines 750-56:

Y en la sombra no más de la azucena
- que el clavel procura acompañada,
imitar en la bella labradora
el templado color de la que adora -
víbora pisa tal el pensamiento,
que el alma por los ojos desatada
señas diera de su arrebatimiento....

Classical mythological allusion is employed to a very great extent. Mars, Venus, Adonis, Cupid and Envidia all appear in the romance. Nonetheless, allusion to the Italians is not ruled out. Not forgetting that the whole story is extracted from Ariosto's work, we also see some of Petrarch's influence in the, by now quite commonplace, imagery: Angélica's eyes are like two suns - 'los rayos del Sol perdonen' - her skin is as white as snow, and paradox and parallelism abound.

Nevertheless, for Góngora's poem to have been regarded as simple for so long, it had to contain elements of popular poetry which, although they may not outshine the cleverness of the 'cultismos' once we are aware of them, give a generally simplistic feel to the whole piece. The words flow after one another in a deceptively easy fashion in spite of occasional syntactic contortions. The same parallelisms which may be of Petrarchan origin, could also fit neatly into the popular romance tradition, which was fond of patterning and paired lines, for example:

y conduce entre pastores
ovejas del monte al llano
y cabras del llano al monte, 11.6-8.

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en el lascivo regalado seno.)
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Colloquial phrases add a popular feel in both basic vocabulary and in the use of refranes. 'Mal herido y bien curado' (line 9) is not listed by Correas as a refrán but its neat pairing gives the sense of one. It can be compared to others like 'Mal pagado y bien servido' or 'Mal maskado i bien rremoxado'. Another refrán 'lo dejó por escondido o lo perdonó por pobre' is listed by Correas, but as it is not dated we cannot tell whether it predates Góngora's poem or whether popular tradition adopted it from the romance itself. As for vocabulary, the phrase 'írsele por pies' found in line 107, has been described by English-speaking scholars as the equivalent to 'scram'. Alemany y Selfa's Vocabulario... defines the phrase as figurative for 'huir, escapar por la ventaja que hace en la carrera al que le sigue'.[33] Laid before us is an extremely subtle juxtaposition of 'culto' and popular themes and styles which, as Alonso affirms, pushes aside any suggestion that Góngora kept his 'two styles' totally separated from one another. The interleaving of the two aspects on this 1602 poem foreshadows the works of 1613-1614 in many ways. Thematically, the same things appear both here and in the Soledades and Polifemo - Court compared with country, love and nature, and even the theme of the wanderer.[34]

Topoi and imagery reappear as we have seen with 'latet anguis in herba' already.[34] Angélica's cries move even nature:

> Enfrenábale la bella
> las tristes piadosas voces,
> que los firmes troncos mueven
> y las sordas piedras oyen;
> y la que major se halla
> en las selvas que en la Corte,
> simple bondad, al pío ruego
> cortésmente corresponde. ll.49-56

and the same power of the human voice over stones and streams is to be found in Soledad I:

> Pintadas aves, cítaras de pluma,
> coronaban la bárbara capilla,
> mientras el arroyuelo para oílla
> hace de blanca espuma
> tantas orejas cuantas guijas lava,
> de donde es fuente a donde arroyo acaba.

and in Soledad II:

> que al uno en dulces quejas, y no pocas,
> ondas endurecer, liquidar rocas.
> Señas mudas la dulce voz doliente
> permitió solamente
> a la turba, que dar quisiera voces
> a la que de un Ancón segunda haya.

The pastoral albergue reappears in the Soledad I and love entices Galatea with roses in the Polifemo. The lovers' cave is reminiscent both of the storm episode of Dido and Aeneas and of the 'horrores' of Polyphemus' cave.

It is tempting to say here that little remains to be discussed in the Romance de Angélica y Medoro, but that would be untrue. So much is left. Scholars have argued over several isolated lines or stanzas only (the most popular ones being the imagery of the 'rosas' in line 20 and onwards, the Mars and Adonis reference, line 80 and onwards, the reason for the Greek accusative and Angélica's tendency to flee, line 101 and onwards and the imagery of the cave, line 125 and onwards) but each still retains his own view on the matter and few dare to attempt total explanations. A thematic analysis, a stylistic analysis, identification of sources - all seem to be ways into the romance, yet no-one has yet emerged with an analysis holding everything intact, and still many areas remain neglected.

The reason for this would seem to be the immense scope and richness of this relatively short poem.

It is interesting to note that the romance was written in the very year in which the Chapter of Cordoba secured the lease upon the Huerta de don Marcos, an estate in the province near the village of Trassierra, for Góngora's use.[35] It was to this location that Góngora retreated in 1612 to write the Fábula de Polifemo y Galatea and to begin the Soledades. As Edwards[36] and others have shown, this earlier romance anticipates the longer poems both stylistically and thematically. It may be, therefore, that the Huerta de don Marcos was in part the factual inspiration for the landscape described in the romance, and a later return to it prompted similar ideas and sensations for the poet's work. The Romance de Angélica y Medoro is in the main a total celebration of the power of love to heal, to alter a person's character, to win the heart of the onlooker to the lover's cause; and of nature's affinity to love's harmony.

Nevertheless, love can also blind man to his responsibilities to life around him, and here to nature in particular, and it can incite hatred and jealousy in those excluded from participation in it. The happiness of the lovers of the romance in question is indeed both intense and precarious and at the end of the poem the idyll is disturbed by the implications of what is to come. Wilson has described the final lines of the romance as a 'quiet comment' on this precariousness.[37] I am inclined to see them in a different light. Following the serenity and beauty of a perfect love in an Arcadian landscape:

The reason for this would seem to be the immense scope and richness of this relatively short poem.

It is interesting to note that the romance was written in the very year in which the Chapter of Cordoba secured the lease upon the Huerta de don Marcos, an estate in the province near the village of Trassierra, for Góngora's use.[35] It was to this location that Góngora retreated in 1612 to write the Fábula de Polifemo y Galatea and to begin the Soledades. As Edwards[36] and others have shown, this earlier romance anticipates the longer poems both stylistically and thematically. It may be, therefore, that the Huerta de don Marcos was in part the factual inspiration for the landscape described in the romance, and a later return to it prompted similar ideas and sensations for the poet's work. The Romance de Angélica y Medoro is in the main a total celebration of the power of love to heal, to alter a person's character, to win the heart of the onlooker to the lover's cause; and of nature's affinity to love's harmony.

Nevertheless, love can also blind man to his responsibilities to life around him, and here to nature in particular, and it can incite hatred and jealousy in those excluded from participation in it. The happiness of the lovers of the romance in question is indeed both intense and precarious and at the end of the poem the idyll is disturbed by the implications of what is to come. Wilson has described the final lines of the romance as a 'quiet comment' on this precariousness.[37] I am inclined to see them in a different light. Following the serenity and beauty of a perfect love in an Arcadian landscape:

Choza, pues, tálamo y lecho,
cortesanos labradores,
aires, campos, fuentes, vegas,
cuevas, troncos, aves, flores,
fresnos, chopos, montes, valles, ll.129-33

the final lines:

contestes de estos amores,
el cielo os guarde, si puede,
de las locuras del Conde. ll.134-36

explode like a nightmare into the consciousness of the reader. The sheer inevitability of misfortune - 'el cielo os guarde, si puede' - is terrifying after the lulled and gentle diversions of love. The 'locuras' of Orlando, when he finally arrives in this place, leave it totally devastated, and I think Góngora's anticipation of this in these last three lines are not in the least quiet. They are the loud and monstrous announcement of a holocaust. This is typical of Góngora's treatment of the theme of love in much of his poetry. Perfection and grace, beauty and peace are always undermined by elements beyond the control of the unsuspecting lover, whether those elements are human (jealousy, lust, spite) or cosmic (time, age, fortune). The introduction of the subversive element is normally subtle, but once the implications are realized, the reader's understanding and opinion of the poem must be re-evaluated. Góngora, with a line or a word, tears his poetry asunder and the reader is forced to rebuild it with greatly changed expectations. The same technique is also used in poems much shorter in length and outwardly less complex than this romance as will be seen in the remainder of this chapter.

* * * * *

2 : 'LA MÁS BELLA NIÑA' AND 'LLORABA LA NIÑA' A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TWO ROMANCES AMOROSOS

Probably the best known and most frequently cited of all Góngora's romances is 'La más bella niña'. An early composition - Chacón gives its date as 1580 - it found its way into many seventeenth-century and still more twentieth-century anthologies. Its popularity was immediately obvious, its first appearance in print being in the Flor de varios romances nuevos, primera y segunda parte (Villalta, Valencia, 1588). It was one of the first of Góngora's romances ever to appear in print. It was published again in 1589 (Moncayo, Valencia), 1591 (Moncayo, Perpignan; Villalta, Valencia), 1593 and 1595 (Moncayo, Madrid) and in the Romancero general of 1600 in part II and in subsequent reprintings. A gloss of the romance appears in Lope's comedia 'La adúltera perdonada'[38] and the estribillo is included in 'El valor de las mujeres'.[39] It is found again in Alonso de Ledesma's Juegos de noches buenas a lo divino (Barcelona 1605) and in Doña Feliciana Henríquez de Guzmán's Los jardines y campos sabeos (1623).[40]

The Centro de Estudios Históricos in Madrid possesses a manuscript version of the poem dating from the seventeenth century, which contains several discrepancies from those versions given by Vicuña and Chacón. E. Martínez Torner was

first to point this out and B. W. Wardropper has since produced a comprehensive study of these three main variant texts of the romance.[41] He judges the latest of these (Chacón manuscript of 1628) to be the definitive version which Góngora arrived at through a 'prolonged gestation' rather than an evolutive process. 'La más bella niña' is in fact a romancillo, a romance form with lines shorter than eight syllables in length, which can almost be experienced as a dance rhythm. In Temas Folklóricas Martínez Torner gives the tune of a predecessor of the estribillo taken from Salinas' de Música (1577). The estribillo in several versions, including that of the Romancero general, is irregular in line-length:

Dejadme llorar,
orillas de la mar.

Henríquez Ureña attributes this irregularity to its having been borrowed from a popular song or dance.[42] However, other variants, including Chacón, make the estribillo regular:

Dejadme llorar,
orillas del mar.

The arrangement and number of lines also varies from one text to another. That of the Romancero general has only thirty-six lines and introduces the estribillo only at two points, once after the first eight lines and again at the end of the composition. In the Centro text it is found after every eight lines, but from line 15 to the end (line 40) the poem is totally different to that of both the Romancero general and Chacón.[43] The Chacón text also employs the estribillo after each eight-line stanza.

'Lloraba la niña' is a much later romance, dated 1590 in Chacón. It did not appear in the Vicuña edition of Góngora's works, but did manage to find its way into Breve deleitación de romances varios (Francisco de la Torre, Valencia, 1668), a collection containing a total of twenty-seven poems, four of them by Góngora. There seems to be no doubt that it is Góngora's poem in spite of its rare appearance in print. The formal arrangement of this romancillo is similar to that of 'La más bella niña', comprising a two-line estribillo of popular or refranero quality affixed to a stanza made up of quatrains (here four quatrains to a stanza, rather than two). Fewer instances of publication of this romancillo have seemed to detract from its importance in the eyes of scholars, and very little critical attention has been paid to it, whereas there are several substantial studies of 'La más bella niña'. Carlos Alberto Pérez regards 'La más bella niña' as a game, and therefore uses it as a simple example which 'nos muestra ya la estrecha relación que hay entre juego y engaño'.[44] Dámaso Alonso includes both romancillos in his second volume of Góngora y el Polifemo, and provides a brief comment on each one.[45] 'La más bella niña' is described as a 'delicioso romancillo' in which 'hay una aparente raigambre de tipo tradicional; pero todo está filtrado y coloreado por un poeta de procedencia petrarquesca y trovadoresca'. His sentiments for 'Lloraba la niña' are that its simplicity is deceptive and that this is in fact 'poesía culta':[46]

> nótese, por ejemplo, 'tantas [lágrimas] como de ellos [de los ojos]/un tiempo tiró/flechas amorosos/el arquero dios'. Se acumulan ahí: representación mitológica (si bien de las más vulgarizadas), perífrasis alusiva ('el arquero dios'), sintaxis complicada por la

> abundancia de complementos y el hipérbaton.

Other scholars who have studied 'La más bella niña' are D. W. and V. R. Foster.[47] They conclude that the seemingly artless romancillo reveals 'the best of the Renaissance-Baroque harmonistics between the traditional and the learned'. The remainder of this study is unremarkable and closely follows the opinions of Dámaso Alonso. Robert Jammes makes mention of both poems in his note to the romances piscatorios in Études... because they examine the problem of separation and absence from the woman's point of view.[48] With reference to 'Lloraba la niña' he says:

> Ce dernier est conçu comme une suite de précédent, ou comme une variation sur le même thème, et la parenté est visible à plus d'un trait: même metre, même rhythme dans le refrain, mêmes personnages (la mère, la fille, l'époux absent).

This is clearly true, yet Jammes continues: 'mêmes sentiments'. As far as I can see this last statement is completely incorrect.

Having already established that 'La más bella niña' was far more popular than 'Lloraba la niña' even in the seventeenth century, Jammes suggests that this may be because:

> il manque la présence de la mer, symbole d'amour et de séparation, qui donnait une dimension supplémentaire au romancillo de 1580. C'est peut-être pour cette raison que le second, malgré son mérite, n'obtint le succés du premier,...

I would argue, however, that the symbol of the sea is not the sole reason for the popularity of 'La más bella niña', and that Jammes ought to have recognized that 'Lloraba la niña' was less

'successful' precisely because it does not have those 'mêmes sentiments'. Antonio Carreño, in his edition of the Romances of Góngora, accepts this view and virtually paraphrases Jammes in his notes to the poems. Speaking of 'La más bella niña' (page 92), he says:

> Semeja y adelanta a 'Lloraba la niña' (num.30), sobre el mismo tema, el mismo metro, ritmo, personajes (madre, hija, esposa [sic] ausente) y sentimientos. Pero falta la presencia del mar, símbolo de la separación y del amor.

Alonso seems to have misread the intentions of the later poem too, for his description of it is as a 'delicado romancillo, de lo más tierno que Góngora ha escrito. Bellísimo el final: "se dejó el silencio/y llevó la voz"'. In my analysis of the poem I hope to show that this is a misinterpretation of those lines in particular, and indeed of the poem as a whole.

Taking, with Wardropper, the Chacón manuscript to represent the definitive version of 'La más bella niña', I intend to compare the two romancillos in question. 'Lloraba la niña' appears only in Chacón and so it seems proper to use the Chacón version of 'La más bella niña' for comparison. The manuscript, that compiled with Góngora's assistance, reveals several differences in 'La más bella niña'. The first variant, found in the Romancero general, is little more than a dirge, with no antithetical phrases or other 'culto' devices. The text of the Centro de Estudios Históricos is more optimistic in outlook. Wardropper sees within it a more rhetorical organization of thought, and the introduction of poetic solitude. In Chacón, the mother's responsibility is enhanced and the sense of anguish is increased to the extent that one is faced with a

'tiny passionate drama'.[49] Wardropper says that 'Each change can be explained by the reflection, the care, the search for perfection which characterize Góngora's mature work'. I would like to suggest that the later poem also shows care and reflection in spite of its totally different approach.

Looking first of all at basic similarities between the two romancillos one finds that the same metre is employed in both. The line-length is identical, and in both the estribillo is irregular. Poetic themes and devices are taken from several traditions: the Petrarchan use of antithetical statement or opposition appears in both:

> tan corto el placer,
> tan largo el pesar, 3, ll.13-14
>
> las causas son muchas,
> los ojos son dos. 30, ll.25-26.

The use of the estribillo is taken from popular tradition, as is the theme itself. The daughter complaining to her mother is a poetic situation which appears in the Galician-Portuguese 'cantigas de amigo' and can be traced even further back to the Mozarabic 'jarchas' of which the earliest known dates from the eleventh century. The estribillo of 'La más bella niña' also recalls popular song. 'Dejadme llorar/orillas del mar' bears similarities to songs from earlier in the sixteenth century, and 'Lloraba la niña' is the kind of formulaic phrase found frequently in older romances such as 'Lloraba doña Jimena'.[50]

As has been noted previously, the characters - girl, mother, lover - are the same and the narrator plays an important (although distinct) part in each romancillo. The basic circumstances are the same: the girl laments to her mother on the

absence of her lover who has gone to war, again a topic taken directly from popular tradition:[51]

> por la mar abajo
> van los mis ojos
> quiero m'ir con ellos
> no vayan solos.

This is combined with the traditional synecdoche of the lover represented solely by his eyes. The sea as a symbol of separation is once again traditional:[52]

> A la mar fueron mis ojos
> a por agua pa llorar

but this is used by Góngora only in 'La más bella niña'. Its omission in 'Lloraba la niña' has been made accountable for the poem's lesser appeal. The symbol of the eyes is also less carefully worked, and a mythological allusion to Cupid's arrows (an element not included in the early romance) lends the poem a totally different quality. It can be seen, than, that the similarities between the two poems are limited, and their major differences lie in the poet's handling of the themes and characters in each.

B. W. Wardropper's analysis of 'La más bella niña' is extensive. He shows how the changes made in texts alter the sense and intentions of the poem. In the final version the narrator tells us (lines 1-8) the situation and the estribillo introduces the girl's lament. She appeals to her mother who persuaded her to marry the young man who has gone to war. Whether he is alive or dead she is classed as a widow because she is bound permanently to him by her marriage vows and, perhaps more importantly in this particular romance, by the

strength of her love for him. For both of these reasons she is not free to love others. The fine sense of poignancy is conveyed by the contraposition of one contrasting term with another in the space of no more than two lines:

> hoy viuda y sola
> y ayer por casar, ll.3-4
>
> tan corto el placer,
> tan largo el pesar, ll.13-14.

After reproving her mother for allowing her to become a victim to this fate, the girl of 'La más bella niña' describes in the third stanza the only action she feels capable of taking. The proof of her grief is apparent. She possesses two sets of eyes; one which are those of her husband and now far off at the wars, and another, her own, which also perform an unnatural action, weeping where once they took delight in gazing on her lover's eyes. The sense of unnaturalness is increased by the reference to the lover who was her peace (of heart and mind) taking part in the terrors of war.

She tells her mother not to try to prevent her tears or reprimand her for her actions, for weeping is the only justifiable action for her. To try to stop her is useless. Not only that, tears are the sole alleviation she can find for her grief; to try to prevent them would be a slow and silent death for her. Having spoken sharply to her mother, she once more tries to soften her. Wardropper suggests that this ('Dulce madre mía') may be an effort to win the mother's sympathies and enlist her tears too. Again, however, there is an element of reproach in her question; '¿quién no llorará, aunque tenga el pecho como un pedernal?'. The pity lies in that one so young is doomed to

wither away with grief in the years when she should be in the full bloom of her youth.

In spite of her appeals for sympathy, the girl is left to realize that she must accept the burden of her own solitude. She commands the nights to be gone for she has no use for them. Where she once stayed awake with her husband throughout the night, now she is alone in a half-empty bed. She begs now that both the nights and her mother will leave her alone again to weep 'by the shores of the sea'.

The role of the narrator is brief but specific here. The situation is swiftly introduced without authorial comment, except that perhaps we are moved to pity because she is the most beautiful girl known to the narrator. The mother does not speak and this is a usual occurrence. J. G. Cummins says: 'In a high proportion of poems,...the words of the girl are addressed to her mother, who may be a sympathetic confidante, but is commonly a hostile figure, a hindrance to the love affair. In the shorter Castilian lyrics, the mother rarely speaks herself, but dialogues between mother and daughter often occur in the Galician cosaute'.[53] Here she is not noticeably hostile, but in 'Lloraba la niña' the mother does speak a and her words suggest a totally different attitude towards her daughter:

> Dícele su madre:
> 'Hija, por mi amor,
> que se acabe el llanto,
> o me acabe yo.' 11.19-22.

The obvious question is why she should want to kill herself? Here it is not because she is guilt-ridden over placing her child in such a plight, but because she is driven to it by the

girl's persistence. She really cannot stand it any longer, and the first stanza of the romancillo tells why.

Quite simply, the girl cried. 'Lloraba' repeatedly and over a long period of time. The verb 'llorar' is given in the imperfect tense to convey this idea. She cried over the absence of her lover. 'Déjola tan nina/que apenas.../que tenía los años/que ha que la dejó' (lines 5-8). This conveys an idea of the time scale.

In 'La más bella niña' there is also a noticeable time scale, - ayer/hoy - which even though it is likely to be figurative suggests the course of very recent events. However, when the girl of 'Lloraba la niña' was left by her lover she was very young. It appears that she was scarcely as old as the number of years that have passed since he left. In realistic terms, for a girl to have had a lover at all she must have been around fourteen years of age. In which case, he abandoned her some fourteen or fifteen years before the occasion of the poem. 'La niña' now must be approaching thirty years of age and yet she is still lamenting her loss. Neither is her lament intermittent. She weeps constantly both day and night:

> la halla la Luna
> y la deja el Sol, ll.11-12.

Is it any wonder then that the mother, who has a wailing spinster for a daughter, is almost driven to suicide?

A further interesting aspect of the first stanza is manifested in the voice of the narrator. He introduces us to the scene of the girl's lament as in 'La más bella niña', but then, rather than draw aside, he prompts us to question her actions. His first outright comment is:

Lloraba la niña
(y tenía razón) ll.1-2.

'Y tenía razón' appears in parentheses because he is giving us his own value judgement and simultaneously anticipating the estribillo. Like the girl in 'La más bella niña' she is justified in her tears, or so we might at first think. Yet the less obvious narratorial comment of the rest of the stanza leads us to suspect that he is uttering the words in a tongue-in-cheek fashion. He follows immediately in line three by describing the absence as 'prolija'. This is an unexpected choice of word under the circumstances, particularly in one of Góngora's 'seemingly artless' romancillos. 'Prolijo' means 'largo, prolongado' and Alemany y Selfa accepts this. Corominas gives a lengthier description:

> Prolijo Nebr. "-ixo, cosa luenga: prolixus" tomado de prolixus 'fluyente', 'largo, profuso', de la misma raíz que liquere; es palabra muy socorrida en el Siglo de Oro y que tiende a tomar matices varios; el más común, entonces como hoy, es 'profuso, demasiado largo' (frecuentísimo hablando de escritos, nada raro con referencia a palabras,...).

This latinate word, carefully chosen by Góngora, is connected to the idea of art and literature in particular.[53] The Oxford English Dictionary also associates the English 'prolix' with literature:

> - of narrative, narrator &c. -
> lengthy, longwinded, tedious.

Not only does this single adjective tell us of the length of the absence but also of how everyone concerned feels about it. It is not only tedious to the girl but, because of her weeping,

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also to everyone else around her. The narrator seems to be suggesting at the same time that to some extent she is creating her own grief, as poets invent their poems:

> añadiendo siempre
> pasión a pasión,
> memoria a memoria,
> dolor a dolor. ll.13-16.

She is perpetuating her own grief and self-pity by constantly re-inventing passions and memories to nourish her own pain. Her grief is really only a fiction, fed by her own tears and her continual reassurance to herself:

> Llorad, corazón,
> que tenéis razón.

If what the narrator believes is true, that:

> Dejóla tan niña,
> que apenas, <u>creo yo</u>,
> que tenía los años
> que ha que la dejó. ll.5-8 (my italics)

then the girl would have hardly known enough love or passion to last her all the years in between, and her grief is not in that case for the 'galán traidor' (as the narrator calls him) but for her 'ingrato amor'. She weeps not for the return of a specific lover but for the return of love itself. She is in love with the idea of being in love. Just as the lover of the traditional lyric wept incessantly for his 'ingrata', she is role-playing too, and because of her silly insistence on making things worse by her own invention we can hardly expect either the narrator or her mother to show any sympathy.

The mother next appeals to her daughter to be silent 'por mi amor', that is either if she loves her mother at all or if

also to everyone else around her. The narrator seems to be suggesting at the same time that to some extent she is creating her own grief, as poets invent their poems:

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The mother next appeals to her daughter to be silent 'por mi amor', that is either if she loves her mother at all or if

she wishes to keep her mother's love, but the girl's answer is totally firm. She will not be persuaded: 'No podrá ser, no'. This formula of placing the emphatic word at the beginning and the end of the line was common in popular poetry,[54] and Góngora's use of it here emphasizes the popular elements of the poem within the mother-daughter dialogue, whilst displaying how uncompromising the girl is. Her reason for continuing to weep:

> las causas son muchas,
> los ojos son dos. ll.25-26

is not acceptable to anyone but to herself. She can give no other reason for her tears but this nonsense. Unlike the girl in 'La más bella niña' she cannot produce enough evidence to justify her tears. Her excuse is that they are the only things that can make good the wrong she has suffered:

> Satisfagan, madre,
> tanta sinrazón,
> y lágrimas lloren
> en esta ocasión,
> tantos como dellos
> un tiempo tiró
> flechas amorosas
> el arquero Dios. ll.27-34.

The syntax here is complicated, disproving the theory of a simple poem. Alonso quotes this passage in Góngora y el Polifemo but does not give any form of explanation of the sense of the girl's words.[55] She says that now, since being abandoned, her eyes will shed as many tears as once the god of love sent out loving darts from them. This is a strange allusion. No quantities are stated here, and in mythology Cupid possessed only two kinds of arrows; those tipped with gold which caused the person to fall in love or leaden ones which initiated disdain or hatred in the victim. In either case the effect was

instantaneous and Cupid needed only to fire one arrow at the majority of his victims. What, then, is the girl saying, for she also claims that the flechas are sent from her eyes (dellos)? Is she using the phrase 'amorosas flechas' to denote the loving glances she shot at her lover? She may be making the reference to the 'arquero Dios' solely because she knows of its use in literary convention and hopes that it will add to her role as the slighted lover. If so she uses it mistakenly by referring to flechas in the plural, for this would suggest, if a single shot is all that is required, that she threw out her amorous glances at many men. In spite of, or maybe even because of that, not a single man has remained as her lover.

A further indication that she does not think out her reasons sufficiently before voicing them is found in the next quatrain. She states: 'Ya no canto, madre', but then, because it suits her lamentations better, she changes her mind, adding:

> y si canto yo,
> muy tristes endechas
> mis canciones son, ll.36-38.

She never once stops complaining. The only songs she ever sings are sad and lamenting ones. Then she adds to what she said in line 35:

> porque el que se fue,
> con lo que llevó,
> se dejó el silencio,
> y llevó la voz. ll.39-42,

that she is deprived of her voice by the one who has left her and taken it with him. Here again this is a peculiar reference. Generally lovers take the eyes or the hearts of their spouses with them, at least metaphorically. Why should he then have

taken away her voice? It should be noticed too that he took something else with him, although 'lo que llevó' is left unspecified, and as such it is easy to speculate that he must also have run off with her honour. Unlike 'La más bella niña', nothing is given to tell us that the couple in question were married, so we must assume that they were not. This would explain why she is still single, as no man would wish to marry a girl who was no longer pure. In taking this, he also takes away her ability to complain about his wrongdoing. She must remain silent in order to hide the shame of her indiscretion, otherwise her hopes of ever finding a husband will be forfeited.

There may also be in this final quatrain a suggestion that he left her in order to prevent her denouncing him. 'Voz' can also be taken to mean 'rumour' or 'gossip'.[56] It may be that rumour of the illicit love affair had spread and in order to silence the tongues of the gossips he fled. In doing so he would also have prevented her demanding that he marry her. She cannot now speak up because it is too late. Both she and the gossips were silenced at once.

Little else needs to be said about the romancillo except that it is quite clearly different in both tone and sentiment from 'La más bella niña'. Far from being a less-successful version of the earlier poem, it is in fact a total reversal of it, almost to the extent of becoming a parody. In these romancillos, Góngora presents us with the two sides of an amorous coin. 'La más bella niña', delicate, sensuous and deeply touching, expresses genuine feeling for the absence of a loved one, whilst 'Lloraba la niña' sets out to ridicule the girl who will not accept her plight, and so burdens everyone

else with her constant wailing. They show between them both the serious and the absurd aspects of parted lovers, and in both poems the narrator gives us the initial clues as to how the lines should be interpreted. 'La más bella niña' is truly one of Góngora's most expertly written romances amorosos, but I would place 'Lloraba la niña' not simply among the romances eróticos o amorosos as Durán does, but instead among a subgenre of romances burlescos amorosos as another fine example of Góngora's ability to parody even his own literary achievements successfully.

* * * * *

3 : 'FRESCOS AIRECILLOS'

'Frescos airecillos' dates from the year 1590, when Góngora was engaged in his travels around Spain on ecclesiastical business, and a year in which he visited the cities of Madrid and Seville in particular. It is not an isolated romance for another five were composed in the same year, one of which is also of an amatory nature. 1590 was indeed a successful year for Góngora the poet, for he carried off the prize of the certamen poético held for the festival of San Hermenegildo in Seville with his sonnet written for the occasion, 'Hoy el sacro y venturoso día'.

The romancillo makes its first appearance in print in the 1605 edition of the Romancero general, folios 36-37 [57] under the heading OTRO ROMANCE. In 1627 Vicuña classifies it as a romance lírico and it appears again in Hoces y Córdoba (romance lírico). It is published again in Saragossa, 1638, in the Laberinto amoroso de los mejores y más nuevos romances.[58] Durán includes it in his Colección... (1849-51), copied from the 1605 Romancero general, under the heading 'romancillos eróticos o amatorios'. In spite of so few appearances in print, there are two major variants of the poem and their differences, although small, are verified by two manuscript versions; one from Chacón and one from a manuscript to be found in the British Museum. I shall deal with these variants later in this study.

Apart from a few notes attached to the poem by editors (Carreño, for example) and a short passage in Jammes's Études...[59] no detailed study has yet been made of this delightful short poem. Jammes classifies it as a romance venatorio and describes it as gracieuse. He calls on it in support of an argument for Góngora's supposed love for the nun Doña Luisa de Cardona and he links it thus to several other romances both of earlier and later composition dates than 'Frescos airecillos'. He regards the nymph of the romancillo as the same person as the lady of 'Moriste, Ninfa Bella', 'Castillo de San Cervantes', 'A vos digo, señor Tajo' and 'Ensíllenme el asno rucio', arguing that Nise and Leda are likely to be pseudonyms for the same woman, so long as one accepts the spans of time separating the poems. The basis for this, and even for linking a nun and a nymph at all, appears to lie in the notion of chastity suggested by a discipline of Diana, yet which is simultaneously denied by the physical appearance of a young woman of great beauty. Jammes points to the link between these two suggestions to be found in lines 25-36:

> y vosotros luego
> caláandoos apriesa
> con lascivos soplos
> y alas lisonjeras,
> sueño les trajistes
> y descuido a vueltas,
> que en pago os valieron
> mil vistas secretas,
> sin tener del velo
> envidia ni queja,
> ni andar con la falda
> luchando por fuerza;

By placing this suggestion of voluptuousness in the invocation to the winds before the appearance in the poem of the nymph,

Góngora successfully transplants the idea without having to make a direct reference to the girl as an object of sexual desire. This, says Jammes, harmonizes the idea of voluptuousness with that of chastity.

Jammes's claim is, then, that one should sense the poem's autobiographical nature because of the link with Doña Luisa and also the reference at lines 97-98 to Daliso who 'enfermo... junto al Tajo queda'. Daliso - 'bajo él se enmascara Góngora' (Carreño) - appears again in 'Moriste, Ninfa Bella' and also in one of the sonnets, an enigmatic and melancholy figure. Jammes accepts the idea that the poet is in disguise as a shepherd-lover, insisting that lines 97-98 are not merely a metaphor, but an expression of the poet's feelings as he passed through Toledo in December 1589 or January 1590. Furthermore, he associates Nise/Leda with a sole woman because Góngora has tended to ritualize her actions in all the poems in which she appears:[60]

> Tantôt elle poursuit le chevreuil blessé, tantôt elle clave au tronc d'un chêne la tête d'un cerf, ou bien, fatiguée de la chasse, elle vient se baigner à la riviére et s'étendre au pied d'un rocher.

Be that as it may, the romancillo is not a straightforward description of a nymph but also includes a highly persuasive invocation to the winds which I now propose to analyse in greater depth.

In form the romancillo is a simple poem of one hundred a and twenty hexasyllabic lines with no true strophic or stanzaic arrangement in any of its published forms, but which is strophic in Chacón. It is rhymed assonantally throughout in e-a, and

consists of two major sections, the first asking the winds to do the poet's bidding. Eight exactly central lines bring about the turn of the poem's focus, lines 56-64 being a description of the girl as a guide for recognition. In the second half of the poem the winds are charged with the poet's message and instructions on how to proceed with its delivery. From line 94 to the end of the poem the message is presented in its entirety.

I shall discuss the poem as it appears in the Chacón manuscript and is reproduced by Carreño. An invocation to the winds constitutes the first fifty-six lines of the poem, the movement of which subtly reminds one of the feel of the wind, for the words and phrases come in gusts and lulls. Jammes describes the structure as 'sinueuse, capricieuse, la phrase s'arrête pour repartir, comme le souffle du vent qu'elle évoque'.[61] The nature of the winds which Góngora invokes is clearly soft, gentle and soothing. Spring breezes, they offer relief from the heat of the sun and provide necessary respite from its 'ardiente fuerza' on the plain of the Tagus. Although gentle, they are nevertheless capricious enough to scatter and blow the heads of the flowers around, and are sensuously cooling and fresh. The wind has many functions and connotations in mythology and folklore,[62] and Góngora employs his knowledge of the richness of traditional symbol to reinforce the impact of the imagery in this apparently, yet deceptively, simple poem. The breezes are free and thus can provide the poet with a metaphorical freedom to travel with them from the banks of the Tagus to the side of his heart's desire in Andalusia. That freedom may prevail

even further into a freedom of expression, as the winds also bring a creative impulse to the poet, enabling him to reveal, on the whispers of the wind, thoughts that would otherwise remain unuttered. These breezes whisper rather than howl and so the poet entrusts them with his message. Yet he may be naive in this, as the element of air is so renowned for its caprice and inconstancy. The poet must be aware of this notoriety for he entices the breezes into his service with a promise that they will be in the presence of 'una ninfa bella', knowing full well that the wind will accept this proposition because it is a metaphor for desire and a fertility symbol. Góngora describes the lusty nature of the breezes in question:

> y vosotros luego
> caláandoos apriesa
> con lascivos soplos
> y alas lisonjeras,
> sueño les trajistes
> y descuido a vueltas,
> que en pago os valieron
> mil vistas secretas, 11.25-32.

Yet in spite of their licentiousness the poet considers the breezes to be the only ambassadors capable of conveying such an important message in a manner subtle enough to impress his lady. De Vries[63] records that 'in <u>myths</u> winds are further represented as: ... thieves, often deceptively charming with music and eloquence; they cannot be stopped and leave no trace...'. Nothing, then, could better convey unwanted supplications to an unwilling listener. Incitement to love is the major task of the sensuous breezes in the poem, already competent in the art of courtship, weaving garlands to adorn the head of the personification of Spring and strewing flowers at her feet:

Frescos airecillos,
que a la Primavera
le tejéis guirnaldas
y esparcís violetas, ll.1-4.

The presence of Spring in the second line is an invitation to a locus amoenus set in the eternal springtime of Arcadia, but a location at once confirmed and also denied by the mention of the Tagus. This Spanish river whose banks were previously used as a locus amoenus by Garcilaso de la Vega (Eglogas I and III), serves a slightly different purpose here. The Arcadian springtime is substituted by a 'real' Spanish one and with it all further implications are lost. In Arcadia's eternal spring (a Vergilian concept) happiness is found in the fulfilment of love which is given freely, if irresponsibly.[64] Here we are in a Christian land where, as in Tasso's Aminta, 'flowing hair and nude bodies are bound and concealed in nets and clothing, behaviour and carriage have grown sophisticated, and the very gift of love is perverted into theft'.[65] The sentiment of stolen love is expressed by Góngora here:

...os han tenido
del Tajo en la vega
amorosos hurtos
y agradables penas, ll.5-8.

The breezes in their role as thieves steal love as Jupiter did in his many disguises.[66] Neither does this Spanish Arcadia preserve the springlike innocence of the pagan bucolic world, for it has been invaded by the other seasons of the year:

cuando del estío
en la ardiente fuerza...
y que el Aquilón
con dura inclemencia
desnude las plantas,

y vista la tierra
de las secas hojas,
...antes que las nieves
y el hielo conviertan
en cristal las rocas,
en vidrio las selvas, ll.9-10, 41-45, 49-52.

Now, like tiny birds, the breezes perch among the branches of the poplars, whose close-leaved boughs offer defence from the burning force of the Spanish summer sun. One notices here a favourite device of Góngora's, for he uses the vocabulary of warfare when dealing with an amatory subject (fuerza, line 10; defensas, line 12; luchando por fuerza, line 36; tregua, line 46). The rustling leaves:

de hojas inciertas,
medias de esmeraldas,
y de plata medias; ll.14-16

tell us that these are white poplars, usually found along riverbanks and whose velvety bark is sensuous to the touch. They provide shade for the 'ninfas' and 'zagalejas', shepherd girls of the Tagus plain. Here Góngora fuses Arcadian shepherdesses with Castilian peasant girls, mythological nymphs with beautiful country girls, and reminds as he does so of others who came out of the river itself:[67]

...Peinando sus cabellos d'oro fino
una ninfa del agua do moraba
la cabeza sacó, y el prado ameno
vido de flores y de sombras lleno.
Movióla el sitio umbroso, el manso viento,
el suave olor d'aquel florido suelo
las aves en el fresco apartamiento
vio descanso del trabajoso vuelo,.

Garcilaso's nymphs are attracted by the coolness of the shady trees and the water, whilst the breezes play around them. For

Góngora, however, it is the breezes themselves that entice the maidens to the spot:

> ...de sus riberas
> mil veces llamastes
> y vinieron ellas
> a ocupar del río
> las verdes cenefas; 11.20-24

and having done so they hover above their heads like waiting birds of prey, inducing sleep as they rustle the leaves. Sleepiness brings with it a lack of inhibition, and a sense of relaxation, and the sensuous murmurings encourage an abandonment among the girls:

> sin tener del velo
> envidia ni queja,
> ni andar con la falda
> luchando por fuerza; 11.33-36

there is no need to tug at their skirts and clothing. The incitement to give love, to revert to the natural Arcadian state, presumably without the nets and clothing which Tasso employs, is achieved by gentle persuasion. Physical veils and moral pretexts (a figurative acception of 'velo') are discarded simultaneously. The breezes are skilled yet playful seducers and are rewarded for their subtlety.

As if the poet can no longer bear to think of the pleasure that the breezes derive from feminine beauty, he spoils it for them, dispelling the image of the carefree nymphs by urging that they leave the Tagus now:- 'Ahora, pues, aires' - to carry his message, and to return at once:

> batid vuestras alas,
> y dad ya la vuelta
> al templado seno
> que alegre os espera. 11.53-56.

Nevertheless, one knows that the poet's breast is not 'templado' but indeed agitated, and insanely jealous of the breezes' freedom and good fortune. The only restraints within that breast are those that prevent its actual approach to Leda; his fear of rejection and his geographical location. His impatience is clear - the breezes must do his bidding before the onset of winter fog and the North wind stripping the plants of the leaves which once protected the green grass from the burning sun. They must go before winter's snow and ice cover the ground. The poem here rushes along as if blown by the strong North wind, with a profusion of lines beginning 'antes que', 'y', 'y antes que', 'en', 'entre', breathy and gusting sounds. There is little time to waste before the seasons pass, just as the poet's life rushes too from youth to old age, in which there will be no place for love. The topos Góngora uses is omnia fert aetas,[68] and only youth and beauty are compatible with love, as are spring days rather than inclement ones of winter.

The invocation ends. The winds have set out on their journey from the meadows of the Tagus to where they will see:

> una Ninfa bella,
> que pisa orgullosa
> del Betis la arena, 11.58-60.

Who is she? Here one must, I feel, disregard Jammes's biographical interpretations and look at her in a universal context. Góngora calls this girl a 'ninfa' to emphasize her beauty which is as impressive as that of one of the river- or tree-goddesses of Greek mythology, constantly pursued by the Olympian gods. Yet she is not a mythological creature. She proudly walks the ground of her home in Andalusia, along

the banks of the Guadalquivir. She is described as 'montaraz', born and bred in the mountains, yet 'gallarda', graceful, brave and noble, and although, as we shall see, a huntress, she is:

> temida en la sierra
> más por su mirar
> que por sus saetas; 11.62-65.

Here is the beauty whose gaze is deadly to those who look on her, for she is irresistible. Both men and beasts are wounded and die because of her. She is to be found, the poet instructs the winds, in one of three likely places; in mountain thickets stalking fierce beasts, in the plain out-running a roedeer, or overcoming an antlered stag. An Andalusian girl she may be but her exploits and fearlessness are those of an Amazon.

Carreño points to an allusion at lines 70-72 to the beautiful, disdainful Atalanta. This allusion can bear greater investigation in my view than a mere mention. Unlike most 'ninfas' Atalanta, reared in the mountains, was not a chaste disciple of Diana. Diana's nymphs scorned the company of men and hunted together. Atalanta, in opposition to this, was the only woman among many men to sail in search of the Golden Fleece on the Argos. She was also the only woman to assist in the Calydonian boar hunt. This ferocious beast was sent by Diana to destroy the crops and livestock of those who did not honour her enough and surely one of Diana's own followers would not dare to be the first of the hunting party to wound the boar? Atalanta's beauty, strength and courage are legendary, but her chastity is not that of a worshipper of Diana. It is self-imposed because of her fear of Apollo's oracle:

'A husband will be your bane, O Atalanta; flee from the intercourse of husband; and yet you will not escape, and, though living, you will lose yourself'.[69] Her fate was to be turned into a lioness. Chastity for Atalanta is a means of self-preservation, not a religious necessity. Her motives, then, are quite unlike the vows of chastity taken by the nun Doña Luisa de Cardona. Montaraz indeed, gallarda most certainly, and in her beauty she is also cruel, for by refusing to wed any but the suitor who outruns her, she commands the death of those who are unsuccessful. She is the epitome of the 'ingrata' of courtly love poetry who causes the death of suitors by rejecting them. Whilst being a mountain girl she can also be cast in the role of courtly lady, as hard of heart as the rocks in the mountains. Only Hippomenes could overtake Atalanta in her own race, and then only with the aid of cunning Venus. Yet perhaps one other, the wind himself, may have been able to beat her. This must be then the poet's only hope. He advises the breezes to draw near to the girl in the poem only when she is fully exerted:

> cuando ya cansada
> de la caza vuelva
> a dejar al río
> el sudor en perlas;
> y al pie se recueste
> de la dura peña,
> de quien ella toma
> lección de dureza;
> llegaos a orealla,
> pero no muy cerca,
> que lleváis suspiros
> y ha corrido ella. ll.77-88.

The breezes must stalk her gently, as she stalks her prey when hunting, cooling her gently but without a sound, for anything resembling a suitor's sigh will set her off and

running again. The safest tactics, says the poet, are to stay a little way off, gently blowing to cool her and then once she has relaxed - cuando la ingrata/mejor os entienda - the breezes should repeat their message to her.

Lines 94-115, almost a quarter of the romancillo, contain the poet's message, addressed to :

> Bellísima Leda,
> gloria de los bosques,
> honor de la aldea, 11.94-96.

Whilst the poet addresses her as he would a lady of noble birth, the qualifications he outlines are once again those of the Andalusian peasant girl. Yet with as much courtly grace as can be mustered he begs her to listen to him, that he might be worthy of the 'premio glorioso' of her love.

The ideal woman here is one of many facets, peasant girl, noblewoman, and mythological nymph of striking beauty. Her name, Leda, is reminiscent of another, seduced by Jupiter and mother of the twin-stars Castor and Pollux and two daughters, Clytemnestra and Helena. She stands here for womanly beauty. The name 'Leda' also associates with the adjective ledo/a (alegre, contento, plácido) and so by extension it can mean anything which gives happiness. She has the power to do exactly that for the poet, but only if she responds favourably to his plea. I feel that the evidence for Leda being a pseudonym for Doña Luisa de Cardona is insufficient as presented within this poem, particularly because of the associations with Atalanta. It is unlikely that conclusive biographical proof to the identity of this Leda could be accumulated, and, indeed, there is none to suggest that this poem is addressed specifically to any one woman.

Some evidence for an autobiographical poem might be suggested by the use of the name Daliso. Lope de Vega was particularly fond of, and popularized a trend for, using mock shepherd's names as a form of poetic disguise. When using such names Lope was able to write directly about his own life and loves and there is documentary evidence that he often used the device for this purpose. However, no such evidence exists for Góngora's use of the name Daliso, although Jammes, Carreño and Alemany y Selfa all point to the name as denoting Góngora himself. I do not think that we currently possess the means to decide the question. Until such time as more is known of Góngora's life and loves, if any there were, I prefer to believe that the names Daliso and Leda are merely names for any hypothetical shepherd and shepherdess or huntress.

Whilst Leda is found in an idealized Andalusia, Daliso remains in an Arcadian landscape near to the Tagus:

> con la muerte al lado
> y en manos de ausencia; 11.99-100.

Carreño tells us that this alludes to the Latin topos of 'Et in Arcadia ego'. There has been much debate about the original intention of this topos but its major concern here is that in any idyllic landscape no-one can escape the two major tragedies of life; frustrated love and death. Both of these are present in Daliso's world due to the absence of Leda. Where death is present there also exists the disfiguration of nature, and, whereas in Vergil's Arcadia there was eternal spring, in Daliso's, as we have seen, the decay of spring takes place and the other seasons follow. With this passage of time it is not just the natural world which

decays but man himself. Daliso, like other men, is subject to the loss of his youth and the approach of death. Only in youth and with beauty can love be fulfilled and he pleads with Leda for her love:

> antes que le vuelvan
> su fuego en ceniza,
> su destierro en tierra, ll.102-104.

He longs for her reply, which he knows will be unfavourable, not breathed in sighs by her but written with her arrow-point in the rock which her heart resembles. Lines 113 to 116 consist of a superbly indulgent word-play. Razón has been used by others as a word for puns as it can bear so many meanings (the supreme example is Cervantes' Don Quijote).[70] Daliso says that it is wrong that one should read a message (razón) written by such a hard hand in such a soft thing as the rock, which is here synonymous with Daliso's heart:

> (porque no es razón
> que razón se lea
> de mano tan dura
> en cosa más tierna), ll.113-116.

Her arrow has become endowed with the properties of Cupid's golden arrows in her unhappy lover's imagination. He is subject to her hand whilst she is as hard as stone in comparison with it. One understands why he judges her in this way when the message is read:

> - Muere allá, y no vuelvas
> a adorar mi sombra
> y a arrastrar cadenas - ll.118-20.

She is fully aware of the effect of her disdain, and yet, like Atalanta, refuses to soften, preferring not to be pursued or

imprisoned by love. Her reply shows that she considers him an unworthy subject for her love; not even allowing him to look upon her shadow. She allows him no hope and even wills his death.

Yet these are not the words of Leda. They are those which Daliso imagines she will write and which the breezes will bring back to him. His hopes for love are destroyed even before he sends the breezes off with his message, a message which in fact prompts the very reply he dreads, and may even be an indication of his unconscious desire to be free of her.

This romancillo is far more complex than it might at first appear. More than a simple invocation to the winds, it expresses the melancholy state of mind of a separated lover, aware of his own rapid ageing in a world where he is powerless to prevent it. Frustrated love and its folly, and man's mortality, are the poem's deepest themes. The capricious tone of the early lines sinks with the poet's hopes to the dull sounds of the final lines, where the repetition of 'd' and 'r' sounds suggest the dullness of his heart as he drags the chains of his unwanted affections with him. Both classical and Hispanic mythologies combine with courtly concepts to illustrate the poet's point that age steals all away, including the capacity for and even the possibility of love.

* * * * *

VARIANTS

The British Museum holds a quarto manuscript of Spanish poetry dating from the end of the sixteenth century (add,10,328) and listed in volume I of the Gayangos catalogue.[71] One sees listed at item number 119, following a 'romanze', that it says 'Otro. Beg. "Frescos ayrecillos"...f138' adding '(Durán,

Romancero, &c., vol.ii. p.608, one of Góngora's.)'.
Turning to folio 138 one finds not 'otro' but a straightforward 'romance', which nevertheless is 'Frescos ayrecillos'. It is written in a flowing hand in two columns to each page and the romance begins halfway down the first column of folio 138, immediately after the previous composition (a romance, 'Atended por cortesía'). The words are closely spaced and the lines neither puctuated nor set in any stanzaic or strophic arrangement.

It is an interesting piece because it would appear to settle on or two differences within existing published versions of the romancillo. 'Frescos airecillos' exists in both Vicuña and Chacón and also in the second part of the 1605 Romancero general. For the most part the Vicuña and Chacón readings are alike but both are in many places different to the RG version. The manuscript version appears to fall somewhere between the two extremes and shows up several of the differences of the RG variant as probable scribal or printer's errors. These mistakes are comparatively easy to spot even without the manuscript to hand, yet the manuscript does confirm the correctness of the other versions. The most obvious ones are esperaldas for esmeraldas (at line 15), calzándoos for caláندoos (line 26), a las for alas (line 28), hacéis for halléis (line 65), rigiendo for siguiendo (line 68) and vuelva for vuela (line 78) because they alter the text until it is nonsensical. They could easily be explained as orthographical errors made in copying. However, a variant such as dulce os espera for alegre os espera (line 56) is less obviously a simple error. Here it is in fact borne out as such by the

appearance of alegre in the manuscript. The source for dulce is harder to trace and other lines of the RG version contain variations from Vicuña and Chacón which also appear in the British Museum manuscript, for example sombrosas defensas for frondosas defensas (line 12), que las altas sierras for antes que las sierras (line 38), que en for en (line 105), piedra for peña (line 112) and aunque no muy for pero no muy/tan (line 86).

Nevertheless, there can be no suggestion that the RG version is taken directly from the British Museum manuscript because the manuscript itself contains further differences not found in any of the published variants. Some, once again, would appear to be transcription errors, ones perhaps caused by being written down from a spoken source - such as me texéis for le téxeis (line 3). Others more seriously affect the reading of the poem. At line 27 the manuscript reads lascivos ojos for lascivos soplos which does not make a great deal of sense in the context of the poem. Line 63 reads y por instead of más por

(temida en la sierra
y por su mirar
que por sus saetas)

which leaves the sense of the lines far less clear. Line 61 bears a striking difference, again I would suggest from having been copied from memory or from some other oral source. Montaraz la llama appears for montaraz, gallarda which makes sense but does not enrich the lines as much. Also the presence of other nonsensical differences in these few lines

(montaraz la llama
temida en la sierra
y por su mirar
que por sus saetas)

suggests that this is once again a genuine error.

Furthermore, lines 75 and 76 are completely missing from the manuscript, rendering any interpretation of these strophes uncertain.

Almost all of the rest of the manuscript version is intact and resembles the published versions apart from very minor details. The only large area of variation is at the end of the poem, from line 114 onwards. It reads:

por que no es razón
que un donsella
de mujer tan dura
en cosa tan tierna
de donde le digas
muere allá y no vengas
a adorar mi sombra
y a floxar cadenas.

The RG version also reads 'muere allá y no vengas' but otherwise it is the same as Vicuña and Chacón. It appears that the manuscript is wrong here for little sense can be made of lines 115 and 116. The final line is even less satisfactory than that of the other versions. I think one can safely say that this version of the poem is not the final one approved by Góngora, but it may have been an early one circulated in manuscript form or as a broadside ballad, and it does provide a few links between the RG and the other versions. It explains the appearance of certain variations in the Romancero general version in spite of its own internal corruption.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

1 Robert Ball, 'Poetic imitation in Góngora's "Romance de Angélica y Medoro"', BHS 57 (1980), 33-54, p.34.

2 Maxime Chevalier, Los temas ariostescos en el romancero y la poesía española del Siglo de Oro (Madrid, Castalia, 1968), p.235-321.

J. B. Avalle Arce, 'Tirso y el romance de Angélica y Medoro', NRFH (1953), 85-94.

3 R. Goldberg, 'Un modo de subsistencia...' quotes from the seventeenth-century Estos sainetes de los dos mexores ingenios de España - don Pedro Calderón y don Agustín Moreto, p.67.

4 Goldberg, p.68.

5 Gracián, I, p.79 and 213-14.

6 Carreño, Romances, p.280, note *.

7 All these studies are detailed in the bibliography.

8 The same piece later appears in Góngora y el gongorismo, volume V of Obras completas (Madrid, Gredos, 1972), p.25-44, in the section 'La lengua poética de Góngora'.

9 Jones, Poems of Góngora (Cambridge University Press, 1966), p.93.

10 Wilson, 'On Góngora's "Angélica y Medoro"', BHS, 30 (1953), 85-94, p.94.

11 'On Góngora's "Angélica y Medoro"' in Studies of the Spanish and Portuguese Ballad, edited by N. D. Shergold (London, Tamesis, 1972), p.73-94.

12 Whilst Edwards thinks that the two lovers revel in the beauty of nature for itself, I am inclined to believe that they in fact pay it little heed. Carving one's

name on the bark of trees may well have been common practice (See R.W. Lee, Names on Trees (Princeton, 1977)) but they indulge in it to such excess that they seem to have a total disregard for the beauty of nature for itself.

13 Edwards, p.84.

14 p.92.

15 'La noción de piedad en el romance "Angélica y Medoro" de Góngora', RLit. 36 (1969), 113-126, p.120.

16 'Un calco semántico latino en el "Romance de Angélica y Medoro"', RLit. 37 (1970), 127-29.

17 'Poetic imitation...', p.33.

18 p.34.

19 The idea of the rival is in lines 79-80 (Mars and Adonis) and 135-36 (Orlando and Medoro himself).

20 p.49.

21 Temas ariostescos..., p.235.

22

Para el derecho se yva
y del palafren se apea
desta manea dezia
"No temas, buen cavallero
pues pareces de alta guisa,
que a los casos de fortuna
el valor los resistia."

Romancero historiado, Lucas Rodríguez, 1582, fol.139-140.

23 p.306. The dates of the above-mentioned romances, according to Chacón, respectively are, 1582, 1604 and 1618, 1589 and 1610. Only two of these then precede Angélica y Medoro written in 1602.

24 Jornada I escena xii of the same work is an enactment of the story with Doña Blanca herself in the role of Angélica, see lines 755 onwards of the act in

Obras de Tirso de Molina, VII (Madrid, BAE, 1971). Avalle Arce says that the extract from jornada I is plainly inspired by Góngora and not Ariosto, and this is proven by the extract in jornada II which demonstrates 'una tácita aceptación...de la fuente'.

25 La niña..., jornada II

GINÉS: Sí,
pero luego que dejada
la cabaña, que fue albergue
desta Angélica gallarda
de noche salimos.

Basta callar, jornada I

MARGARITA: sea toda su privanza
viviendo amado de todas,
con vida, honor, lustre y fama,
desde Angélica, no tiene
ejemplar; y mas si pasas
a considerar hoy, Flora,
que sobre finezas tantas,
siendo él el favorecido...
Es ella la enamorada,
iba a decir...

CÉSAR pues debo a quien me da vida
menos que a quien me da muerte.

26 Ariosto, Orlando Furioso, edited by N. Zingarelli (Milan, Ulrico Hoepli, 1934), book XII, p.192-94.

27 Ball, 'Poetic imitation...', p.37.

28 'Poetic imitation...', p.43.

29 All italics are mine.

30 The final two stanzas present an interesting problem. Every noun used in their list appears beforehand in the poem (lines 83, 71, 70, 56, 66, 111, 113, 115, -, 125, 117, 87 and 97, 103 and 104 in that order) except for 'vegas'. Ball does not consider this odd word out as just padding for the list; Góngora could after all have used other nouns from the rest of the

text, but as a link to the whole attack on Lope de Vega's poem. His support for this is that the last eight lines act as 'a kind of self-imitation' wherein he 'recapitulates the entire idyllic section' as a 'meta-poetic critique'. See Ball's article, p.47.

31 Alonso, Góngora y el Polifemo, I, p.98-106.

32 E. R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, translated by W. R. Trask (New York, Pantheon, 1953), p.192-201.

33 Here it should be mentioned, in spite of the colloquial Castilian derivation, that the phrase 'írse por pies' comes directly from the Latin prae pedem fugere. Góngora was of course aware of this, as it would give an answer to the question of why he should have used such a 'vulgar' expression.

34 Edwards, p.84, gives symbolic significance to both Angélica (as the continuity between love and death) and Medoro (representative of the wanderer).

35 La Torre, 'Documentos gongorinos...' doc. 68, p.161-66.

36 Edwards, p.84.

37 Wilson, p.94.

38 E. Martínez Torner, 'Góngora y el folklore' in Temas Folklóricas (Madrid, 1935), p.71-83, p.79:

Lope de Vega, en La adúltera perdonada, da estos cuatro versos:

La más bella niña
de aqueste lugar
hoy está arrepentida
y ayer por casar.

39 J. M. Alín, El cancionero español..., p.637-38: 'Lope de Vega incluye el estribillo en El valor de las mujeres (RAE, X, pag.146a): "del mar"'.

40 Alín, p.637-38:

Figura tambien en Alonso de Ledesma, Juegos de noches buenas a lo divino. 1605, y en Doña Feliciana Henríquez de Guzmán, entreacto segundo de la tragicomedia Los jardines y campos sabeos. 1623 (Serrano y Sanz, Apuntes...):

Las más bellas niñas
de aqueste lugar
oy viudas y solas
y ayer por casar.
Dexadnos llorar
a orillas de la mar.

Como se ve, los versos de Doña Feliciana son copia casi textual de Góngora.

41 B. W. Wardropper, 'La más bella niña', Studies in Philology, 63 (1966), 661-76, identifies three variant texts: Flor de varios romances, 1589, (RG 1600) which he calls the 'Romancero text', Manuscript in the Centro de Estudios Históricos, XVII century, which he calls the 'Centro text', Manuscript compiled by Chacón, 1628, called 'Chacón text'.

42 P. Henríquez Ureña, La versificación irregular en la poesía castellana. 2nd edition (Madrid, Junta para Ampliación de Estudios, 1933), p.266.

43 Martínez Torner gives the full text of the 'Centro' variant, as follows (p.79-81):

La más bella niña
de nuestro lugar
hoy es viuda y sola
y ayer por casar.
Viendo que sus ojos
a la guerra van,
a su madre dice,
que escucha su mal;
"Dejadme llorar
orillas de la mar.

Pues me diste, madre,
en tan tierna edad
tan corto el placer,
tan largo el pesar,

y pues veis que muero
de rabioso mal
en tanto tormento,
congoja y afán,
dejadme llorar
orillas de la mar.
Pues me cautivastes,
madre, a mi pesar,
ahora que quiero
déjame llorar,
que ausente llorando
me podré alegrar.
Y pues me casastes
para tanto mal,
dejadme llorar
orillas de la mar.
Lágrimas me alegran
en mi soledad:
llorando nací
y así he de acabar.
Hasta que mis ojos
vuelvan donde van,
tendré por consuelo
llanto y sollozar.
Dejadme llorar
orillas de la mar."

44 C. Alberto Pérez, 'Juegos de palabras y formas de engaño en la poesía de don Luis de Góngora', Hispanófila. Madrid, 20 (1964) 5-47, p.37.

With reference to the lines:

En llorar conviertan...
...lo otro por demás. (21-34)

he says:

El sentido del juego es: que lo uno (llorar) es según justicia, lo otro (poner freno a mi llanto), inútil. Pero la proximidad de los dos vocablos hace que por mutua atracción surjan a la superficie sus referencias segundas, de significado afín, exacto y excesivo. sin relación con el total del pasaje...la oposición entre exacto y excesivo encaja perfectamente dentro de la serie de opuestos que forman el poema: bien-mal; marchitar-verdes años; guerra-paz; viuda-por casar; corto el placer-largo el pesar....La oposición no existe realmente en el contexto, esos significados contrarios no son realmente usados, y sin embargo percibimos el efecto con tanta claridad como en los otros pares de conceptos. No es más que un engaño.

45 Dámaso Alonso, Góngora y Polifemo, II, p.13-15 and 34-35.

46 Alonso, p.34-35.

47 D. W. and V. R. Foster, Luis de Góngora (New York, Twayne, 1973), p.37-8.

48 Jammes, Études..., p.143.

49 Wardropper, p.675.

50 In Durán, Colección..., part X, no. 868.

51 Cummins, p.83.

52 Cummins, p.85.

53 Cummins, p.54.

53a Soledad I, l 200 and l 505.

54 Cummins, p.90:

No quiero ser monja, no,
que niña namoradica só.

Dexadme con mi plazer,
con mi plazer y alegría,
dexadme con mi porfía,
que niña mal penadica só.

55 II, p.34-35.

56 Collins Spanish-English, English-Spanish Dictionary, compiled by C. Smith, M. Bermejo Marcos, E. Chang-Rodríguez (London, 1971, repr.1977): 'Voz....(fig) rumour; ___ común hearsay, gossip, rumour;...'

57 González Palencia edition, p.263-64.

58 Laberinto amoroso..., edited by J. M. Blecua (Valencia, Castalia, 1953), p.26.

59 p.417-18.

60 Études..., p.418.

61 Études..., p.417.

62 De Vries, p.501.

63 p.501.

64 E. Panofsky, 'Et in Arcadia ego' in Philosophy and History, edited by R. Klibansky and H. J. Paton (New York, Harper and Rowe, 1963), p.203-54.

R. Poggioli, The Oaten Flute: Essays on Pastoral Poetry and the Pastoral Ideal, edited by A. Bartlett Giamatti (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard U.P., 1975).

65 Panofsky, p.232.

66 Alemany y Selfa, Vocabulario..., under entry for 'hurto'.

67 Égloga III, ll.69-76.

68 Omnia fert aetas... a classical topos discussed by Poggioli and others: 'Age takes all away'. In pastorals there was no praise of wine and drunkenness in youth. For the ageing drunkenness replaces the fruit of love.

69 Ovid, Metamorphoses X, vol I, p.564-66:

> Coniuge..
> nil opus est, Atalanta, tibi: fuge coniugis usum,
> nec tamen effugies teque ipsa viva carebis.

70 Don Quijote, I i, p.71-72:

> La razón de la sinrazón que a mi razón se hace, de tal manera mi razón enflaquece, que con razón me quejo de la vuestra fermosura...los altos cielos que de vuestra divinidad divinamente con las estrellas os fortifican, y os hacen merecedora de merecimiento que merece la vuestra grandeza.
> Con estas razones perdía el pobre caballero el juicio,...

Cervantes mocks the style of Feliciano da Silva, who like others continued novels and was instrumental in the vulgarization of the libro de caballerías. Even before Cervantes he had been ridiculed for his 'estilo hinchado'.

71 Catalogue of Spanish manuscripts held in the British Museum in London (Trustees of British Museum, London, 1875-1893), Vol I (4 vols), p. 22, item 119.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

The objective of this thesis has been to examine several aspects of the *romancero amoroso* of Luis de Góngora, using a variety of approaches. In it I have attempted to show how in fact approximately half of all the *romances* acknowledged to have been written by Góngora can be classified as *romances amorosos*; that is, that they deal with the theme of love, with treatments which may vary from the tender and poignant to the burlesque or obscene.

In spite of the acclaim now accorded to Góngora's works in general, very few serious and lengthy studies have been attempted covering the poetry in *romance* form. Those studies of note which have been conducted upon the *romance gongorino* in recent years have tended to concentrate on the satirical and burlesque types. My aim has been to partially rectify the imbalance by examining a less well-studied (although equally well-known) sector of the *romance* genre. That the Chacón manuscript declares a total of forty-five compositions

to be romances amorosos, whilst only a handful of these (for example 'La más bella niña', 'En un pastoral albergue', 'Entre los sueltos caballos') have been examined in any detail, sufficiently justifies a study of this particular group of poems. Other areas which have also suffered critical neglect - the romances sacros, the letrillas, and other shorter poems - are equally worthy of serious attention.

The second chapter of the thesis sets out to locate the romance gongorino within the context of the older Hispanic romancero tradition and the trend for the romance artístico established in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, of which Góngora was a leading exponent. The outstanding features of both the romancero viejo and the romance nuevo are examined and discussed, to establish those elements which Góngora preserved and refurbished within his own romances. Whilst employing many of the stylistic devices of the romance viejo, Góngora incorporated into his verse the themes and social concerns of the more Baroque romance nuevo.

A study of the romances, their texts and reception, within the biography of Góngora was necessary in order to show how the romances were indeed as much an essential part of the poet's career as any other poetic form. At times (1590, 1620) they assumed particular prominence in that more romances than poetry of any other genre were produced. Their contemporary popularity further strengthens the case for critical attention, so frequently were they published, imitated and adapted during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. I have not attempted, however, to suggest connections between individual romances and particular events in the poet's life, other than where

such connections have previously been proven. The very fact that Góngora, a man in holy orders and an official of the ecclesiastical Inquisition, was inspired to write poetry in an amatory and even at times scatalogical mode has induced several scholars to speculate on the exemplarity of his private life. Dámaso Alonso, for instance, implies in 'Los pecadillos de don Luis de Góngora' that Góngora possessed no convincing clerical vocation:[1]

> En sus partes serias [de las obras] predomina el deleite de los sentidos (así lo sensual o más exactamente, lo sexual, en el Polifemo). En sus partes burlescas o satíricas abundan los atrevimientos y aun las obscenidades... no era un hombre vertido...a la vida religosa. ...se podría inferir que sus costumbres no eran muy castas, y en algunas habla en primera persona y con sus atributos de clérigo.

On the basis of fragments of the romances 'Despuntado he mil agujas', 'Diez años vivió Belerma' and 'Desde Sansueña a Paris' and references in other early romances Alonso deduces that Góngora had been in his youth a confirmed libertine.[2] The verification of this seems to be Bishop Pacheco's investigation conducted in this early period (1587), yet the charges Góngora had to face made no mention of illicit or sexually immoral activities.[3]

It is not possible, from the biographical sources currently available, to conclude either that Góngora lived a life of subdued debauchery or that he became romantically involved with any woman, although a degree of affection towards certain ladies (in particular Doña Luisa de Cardona) is evident from a few compositions. This is however, never depicted as anything deeper than affection and respect. Therefore it can

only be surmised that Góngora did not involve himself in long-standing relationships of either the sensual or platonic kinds with women. His inclination towards amatory verse is, nevertheless, easily explained. Góngora was a poet who 'escribió muchos versos a contemplaciones ajenas'.[4] R. F. Ball has this to say:[5]

> Góngora adopts a variety of personae in writing about love depending on the decorum of the particular convention he is using....he alternates among the available stereotypes of the Petrarchan lover, the self-deprecating ironist, the impersonal bard of the woes of Moors and fishermen, and the cynical satirist.

Góngora's concept of the love between man and woman is more general than personal, a concept correlated from the abundance of literary material, classical, traditional and contemporary, with which he was familiar. Even when the first person is used in a romance, the stance of 'Góngora the poet' remains detached and aloof and on most occasions Góngora speaks either for another, a courtier or friend, or in the voice of another, a young girl, a captive, a disillusioned simpleton.

Chapters five and six explore the multi-faceted stances which Góngora adopts. Firstly, in a study of the romance morisco, the role and predicament of the sentimental Moor and the Christian captive reveal the two extremes of Góngora's attitudes towards love in the romance. The sentimental Moorish lover is aped and parodied, and clarifies Góngora's scornful view of all artificial sentimentality. Meanwhile, he takes a more lenient, almost sympathetic, view of the lover who is sincere in his affections and the unfortunate victim of untimely circumstance. A number of Góngora's romances de cautivos are

among the most sensitive of his love poems. Another aspect of Góngora's view of lovers was seen in 'Servía en Orán al rey'. As in much of his poetry, ambiguity is an essential element, and in this particular poem we are left to decide for ourselves whether Góngora is describing blatant sexuality or mature sensitivity.

Two extreme views of love and lovers can also be detected in the romances rústicos. As with the sentimental Moor, Góngora reviles and parodies the sentimental shepherd for his foolish posturing and absurd mannerisms. Partly his intention is here to launch a scathing attack on those of his contemporaries who thinly disguised their own amorous adventures behind such stereotypical characters. Yet the romance rústico is not at all poesía pastoril. Sometimes, certainly, Góngora employs it to contrast with the pastoral conventions, but its major function is as an incitement to love. The Latin topos of carpe diem or collige, virgo, rosas is the underlying theme of a number of the romances rústicos. They do not urge an idealized love but an abandonment to both its spiritual and sensual pleasures as a means to the fuller enjoyment of an inevitably short life. It is among the rústicos too that many of Góngora's most lyrical romances amorosos are to be discovered, those deriving their motifs and their sensitivity from traditional lyrics. As persuasions to love the romances rústicos are, in my opinion, more convincing than any of the conventional romances pastoriles of Góngora's contemporaries.

Two substantial sections of the romances amorosos having been examined to determine Góngora's major attitudes towards and views of love and lovers, chapter seven adopts a different

approach. Instead of broad coverage of areas of stylistic or thematic interest, two recurring figures of the romances amorosos are examined in some detail. In concentrating on one male and one female, one deity and one mortal (or semi-divine) I have hoped to maintain an appropriate sense of equilibrium. Why do the two figures of the cazadora and Cupid appear with such regularity? The answer lies deeper than that they are both traditional poetic symbols. For Góngora they manifest every conceivable physical and psychological aspect of human love, from the mischievous and playful to the malicious in Cupid, from the supremely chaste to the voluptuously erotic in the cazadora. Furthermore their roles are interchangeable, their characters ambiguous and as such between them they may be said to epitomize many of the attitudes towards love in Góngora's poetry.

Chapter eight contains detailed analytical studies of four romances amorosos. Here again a balance is maintained between the familiar ('La más bella niña' and 'En un pastoral albergue') and the less well-known romances ('Lloraba la niña' and 'Frescos airecillos'). The studies show that without a doubt Góngora gave as much painstaking thought to even the shortest romances amorosos as he did to the lengthier ones.

Although Góngora scorned sentimentality he retained a profound respect for the traditional lyrical romance, elements of which appear as symbolic features of the later romances amorosos. For him love was not a personal and autobiographical issue which he felt obliged to express in his poetry. Rather 'o es un simple deleite, o un motivo literario que él trata

y considera literaria y artísticamente'.[6] Góngora's sources for his views on and treatments of the subject were many; Latin topoi and mythological figures from the works of Ovid, Horace and Ausonius, Italian beauties and idealistic lovers from Ariosto and Petrarch, native literary trends from Garcilaso, Lope de Vega and the romancero artístico, and lastly - and essential to the quality of Góngora's romances - formulas, devices, imagery and motifs from the romancero viejo and traditional lyric poetry of the entire peninsula.

Góngora's wit and ingenuity, allied to such a variety of sources and influences, produces poetry which, in the romances amorosos, ranges from delightful simplicity to bewildering complexity. The romances are a major area of Góngora's poetry and fully deserve the serious - and continuous - attention of critics.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IX

1 'Los pecadillos...', RFE 47 (1964) 215-35, p.215.

2 'Los pecadillos...', p.216-222.

3 See Dámaso Alonso's summaries in Góngora y el Polifemo, I, p.42-44.

4 J. Pellicer de Salas y Tovar, Vida Menor de don Luis de Góngora in F-D, Obras poéticas..., III, p.291-95, p.292. My italics.

5 Ball's accent is upon the romance burlesco although much of this applies also to the romance amoroso. Parodies..., I, p.52.

6 Artigas, 'Semblanza...', p.45.

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APPENDIX I

CITED ROMANCEROS

Texts published prior to the first appearance of Góngora's romances in print.

1511 Cancionero general de muchas y diversas obras de todos i d' los mas principales trovadores de España en lengua castellana...copilado y maravillosamente ordenado por Hernando del Castillo. Valencia, Kofman.
(Facsimile edition, A. Rodríguez-Moñino, Madrid, RAE, 1958)

1545-1550 Cancionero de romances en que están recopilados de la mayor parte de los romances castellanos que fasta agora se an compuesto. Antwerp, Martin Nucio.
(Facsimile edition, R. Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, Centro de Estudios Historicos, 1914 and Madrid, CSIC, 1945)
(Edition of A. Rodriguez-Moñino, Madrid, Castalia, 1967)

1550 Primera párte de la Silva de varios romances, en que están recopilados la mayor parte de los romances castellanos que hasta agora se han compuesto..., Saragossa, E. G. de Najera.
(Edition of A. Rodríguez-Moñino, Saragossa, Cátedra, 1970)

1570 Cancionero de romances sacados de las corónicas antiguas de España con otros hechos por Sepúlveda. Y algunas sacados de los quarenta cantos que compuso Alonso de Fuentes. Medina, Canto.

1573 Rosa de amores. Primera parte de romances de J. Timoneda, que tratan diversos y muchos casos de amores. Valencia, Navarro.
(Madrid, Floresta, 1963)

1582 Primavera y flor de los mejores romances que han salido aora nuevamente en esta Corte recogidos de varios poetas por [illegible]rías Perez. Barcelona, Libreros.
(Numerous reprints to 1659, re-edited in Madrid, 1621.)
(Edition with study by J. Fernández Montesinos, Valencia, Castalia, 1954)

1584 Cancionero de romances por Luis de Sepúlveda. Seville.
(Edition of A. Rodríguez-Moñino, Madrid, Castalia, 1967)

APPENDIX II

TEXTS OF THE ROMANCES

* indicates texts cited by Foulché-Delbosc in 1921 edition

1588* Flor de varios y nuevos Romances...recopilados por Andrés de Villalta. Valencia (9 romances).

1589 Flor de varios romances nuevos, y Canciones. Ahora nuevamente recopilado de diversos autores, por el Bachiller Pedro de Moncayo, natural de Borja. (8 romances) Huesca.

1591 Flor de varios romances nuevos...por el bachiller Pedro de Moncayo, natural de Borja. Perpignan. (8 romances)

1591* Flor de varios romances nuevos y canciones. Primera y segunda parte, ahora nuevamente recopilados y puestos en orden por Andrés de Villalta, natural de Valencia. Añadióse ahora nuevamente la tercera parte por Felipe Mey. Valencia. (1 romance)

1592* Quarta y quinta parte de Flor de Romances. Recopilados por Sebastián Vélez de Guevara, Racionero de la Colegial de Santander. Burgos. (4 romances)

1593 Flor de varios romances nuevos. Primera y segunda y tercera parte. Ahora nuevamente recopilados y puestos por orden, y añadidos muchos romances que se han cantado después de la primer impresión. Y corregidos por el Bachiller Pedro de Moncayo, natural de Borja. Impreso en Madrid.... (I: 2 romances: II: 7 romances: III: 1 romance)

1593* Flor de varios, y nuevos Romances, Primera y Segunda parte. Ahora nuevamente recopilados, y puestos por orden, por Andrés de Villalta natural de Valencia. Añadióse ahora nuevamente la tercera parte por Felipe Mey mercader de libros. Valencia. (10 romances)

1593 Octavo cuaderno de varios Romances los más modernos que hasta hoy se han cantado. Valencia. (1 romance)

1593 Tercero cuaderno de la segunda parte de varios Romances los más modernos que hasta hoy se han cantado. Impreso en Valencia junto al molino de la Rovella. (1 romance atribuido)

1593* Quarta, quinta y sexta parte de Flor de romances nuevos, nunca hasta ahora impresos, llamado Ramillete de Flores: por Pedro de Flores, librero; y a su costa impreso. Y demás desto, va al cabo la tercera parte de la Araucana [sic] en nueve romances, excepto la entrada de este Reyno de Portugal, que por ser tan notorio a todos, no se pone. Lisbon. (3 romances)

1594 Quarta y quinta parte de Flor de romances. Recopilados por Sebastián Vélez de Guevara. Burgos. (4 romances + 1 atribuido)

1594 Sexta parte de Flor de romances nuevos, recopilados de muchos autores por Pedro Flores, librero. Toledo. (4 romances)

1595 Flor de varios romances. Primera, segunda y tercera parte. Ahora nuevamente recopilados, puesto por su orden: y añadidos muchos romances que se han cantado después de la primera impresión. Y corregidos por el Bachiller Pedro de Moncayo, natural de Borja. Madrid. (9 romances)

1596* Flores del Parnaso octava parte. Recopilado por Luis de Medina. Toledo. (2 romances)

1597 Flor de varios romances nuevos. Primera, segunda y tercera parte. Ahora nuevamente recopilados y puestos por su orden: y añadidos muchos romances que se han cantado después de la primera impresión. Y corregidos por el Bachiller Pedro de Moncayo, natural de Borja. Madrid. (9 romances)

1597* Flor de varios romances diferentes de todos los impresos. Novena parte. Madrid. Juan Flamenco. (4 romances)

1597 Séptima y octava parte de Flor de varios romances nuevos recopilados de muchos autores. Alcalá de Henares, Juan Iñíguez de Lequerica. (2 romances)

1600 Romancero general, en que se contienen todos los romances que andan impresos en las nueve partes de Romanceros. Ahora nuevamente impreso, añadido, y emendado. Madrid, Luis Sánchez.

I	2 romances
II	7 romances
III	/
IV	2 romances
V	2 romances
VI	4 romances
VII	/
VIII	2 romances
IX	5 romances
X	/

1602 Above reprinted, Medina del Campo.

1604* Reprinted Madrid. Romancero general en que se contienen todos los romances que andan impresos. (5 romances added)

1605* Segunda parte del Romancero general y flor de diversa poesía, Valladolid. (4 romances)

1605 Primera parte de las flores de poetas ilustres de España. Pedro Espinosa, Valladolid. Góngora was the chief contributor to this collection.

1611 Primera parte del jardín de amadores, en el cual se contienen los mejores y más modernos romances que hasta hoy se han sacado. Saragossa. Francisco Sabad (or Juan de la Puente). (First 'romancerillo novísimo', beginning of romance artístico barroco. 3 romances)

1618 Laberinto amoroso, Juan Chen, Barcelona. (Most of the lyrical romances already found in the Romancero general)

1621* Primavera y flor de los mejores romances que han salido ahora nuevamente en esta corte, recogidos de varios poetas. Por el licenciado Pedro Arias Pérez, Madrid. (4 romances. Ran to 17 editions)

1627* Obras en verso del Homero español, que recogió Juan López de Vicuña, Madrid.

1628 Cancionero de 1628.

1629 Segunda parte de primavera y flor de los mejores romances, Francisco de Segura. Several editions until 1641. (Most of the romances found in Laberinto amoroso)

1630 Lecciones solemnes a las obras de don Luis de Góngora y Argote, José Pellicer de Salas y Tovar, Madrid.

1633* Todas las obras de don Luis de Góngora en varios poemas. Recogidas por don Gonzalo de Hoces y Córdoba, natural de la ciudad de Córdoba, Madrid. (Editions in 1633, 1634, 1646, 1654 (x2))

1634 *(1630) Delicias del Parnaso, en que se cifran todos los romances líricos, amorosos, burlescos, glosas y décimas satíricas del regocijo de las musas el prodigioso don Luis de Góngora, Saragossa. (14 romances)

1636 Ilustración y defensa de la Fábula de Píramo y Tisbe, García de Salcedo Coronel, Madrid.

1637 Maravillas del Parnaso, Jorge Pinto de Morales.

1638 Égloga Fúnebre a don Luis de Góngora de versos entresacados de sus obras, por Martín de Angulo y Pulgar, Seville.

1644 Second volume of Obras de don Luis de Góngora comentadas, por G. de Salcedo Coronel, Madrid.

1644 Reprint of Jardín de Amadores.

1649 Segunda parte del segundo tomo de Obras...comentadas por G. Salcedo Coronel...contiene esta parte todas las canciones, madrigales, silvas, églogas, octavas, tercetos y el panegírico al Duque de Lerma, Madrid.